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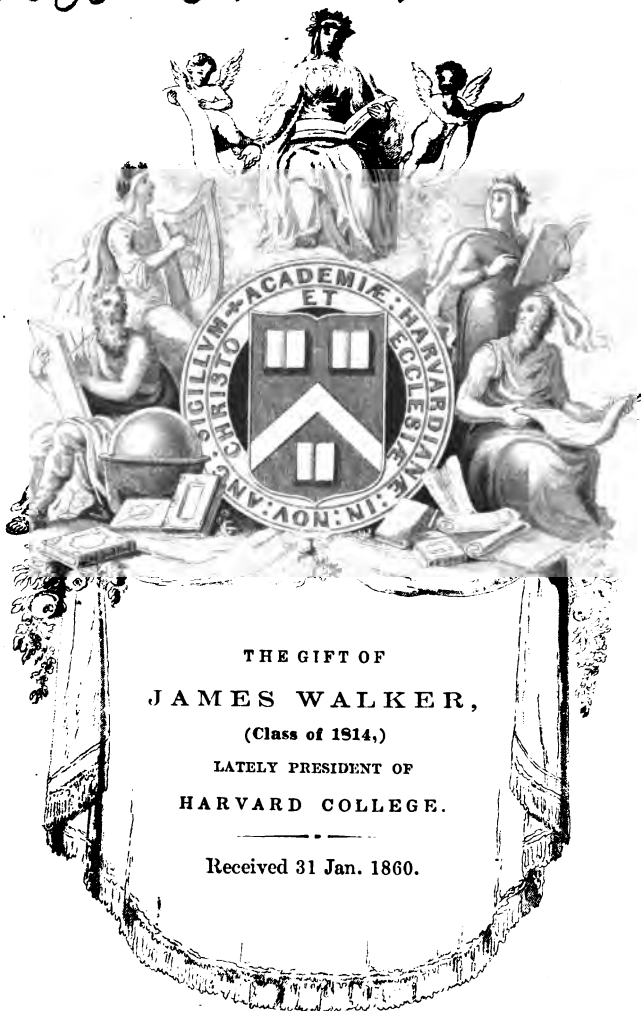
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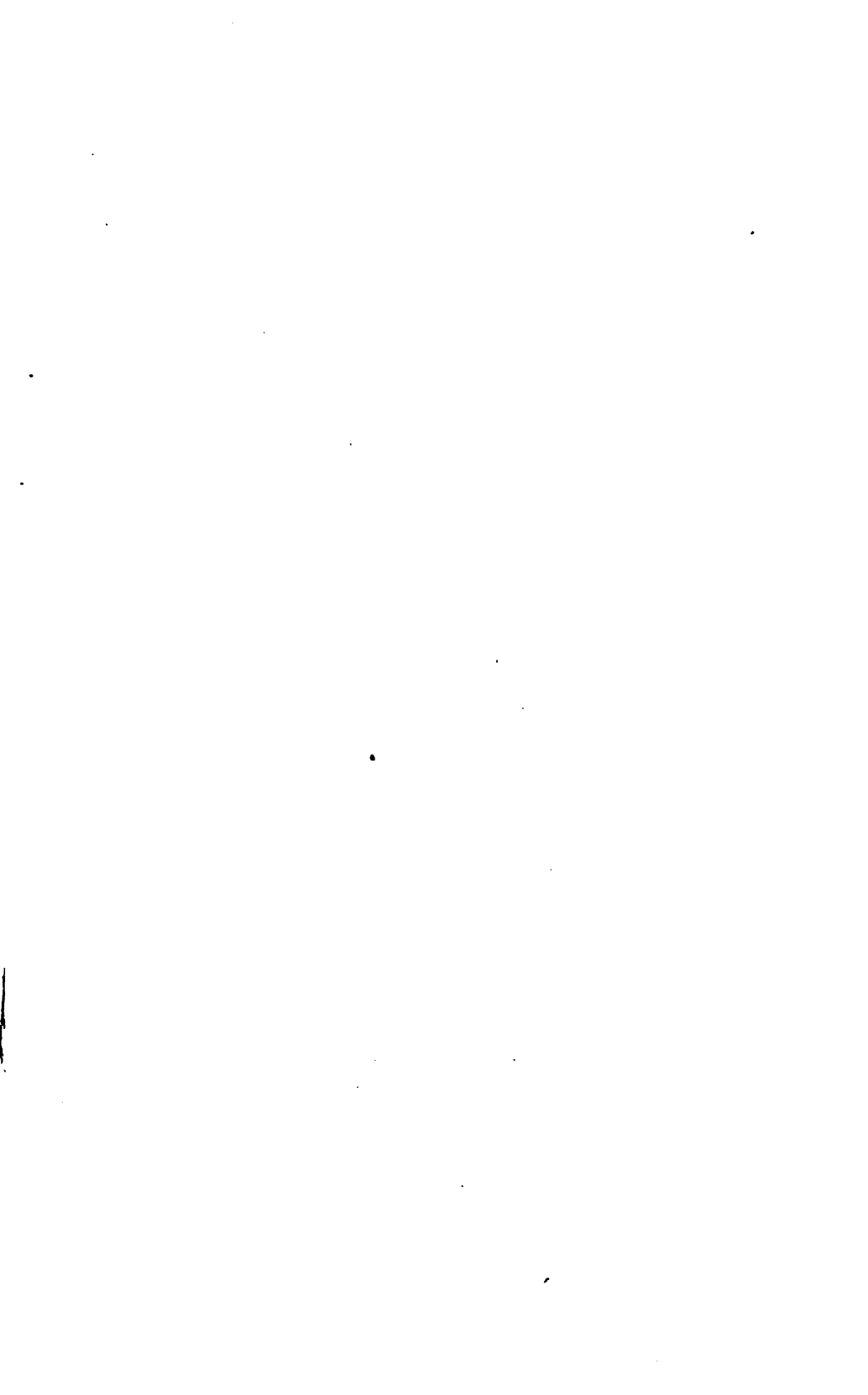
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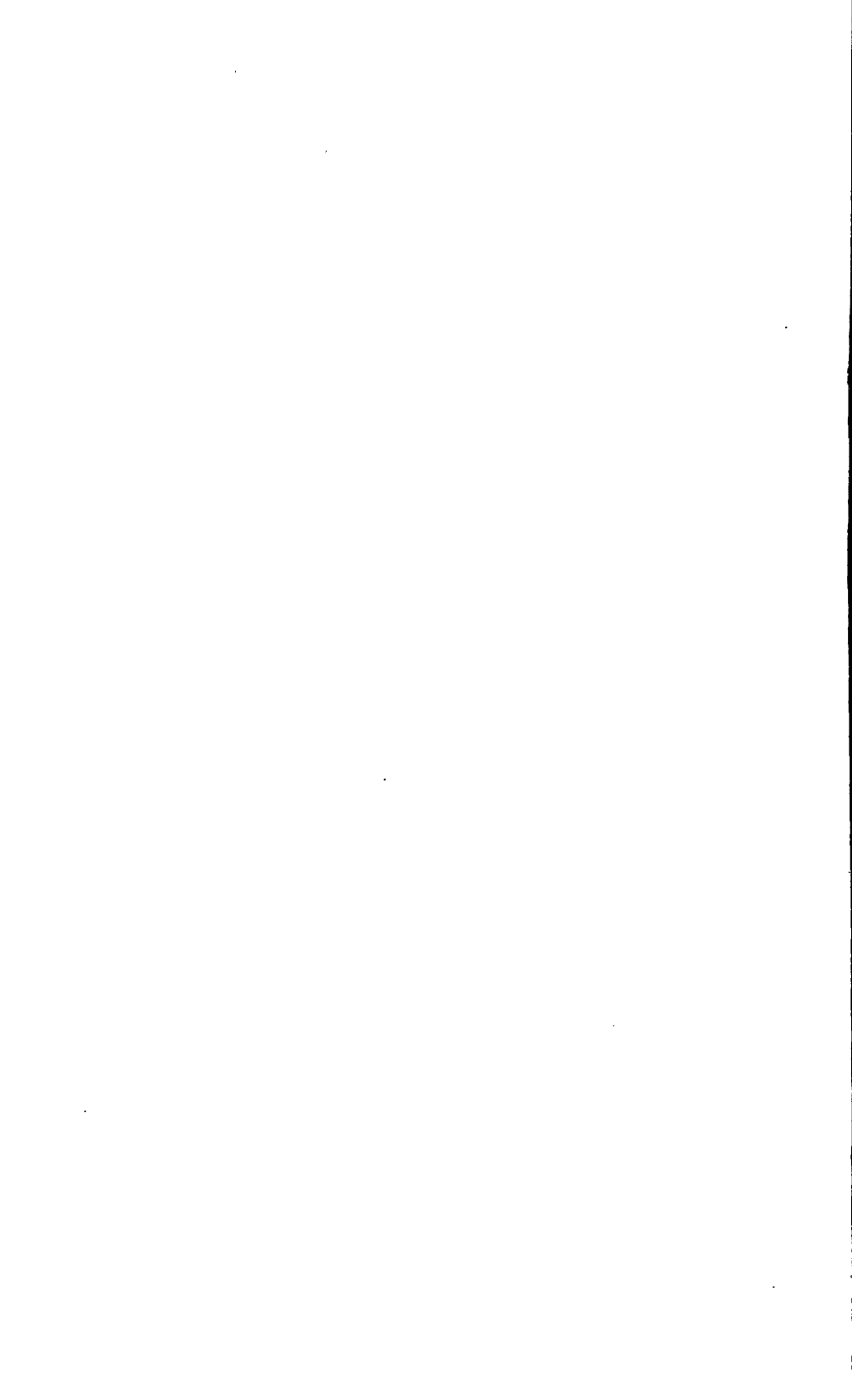
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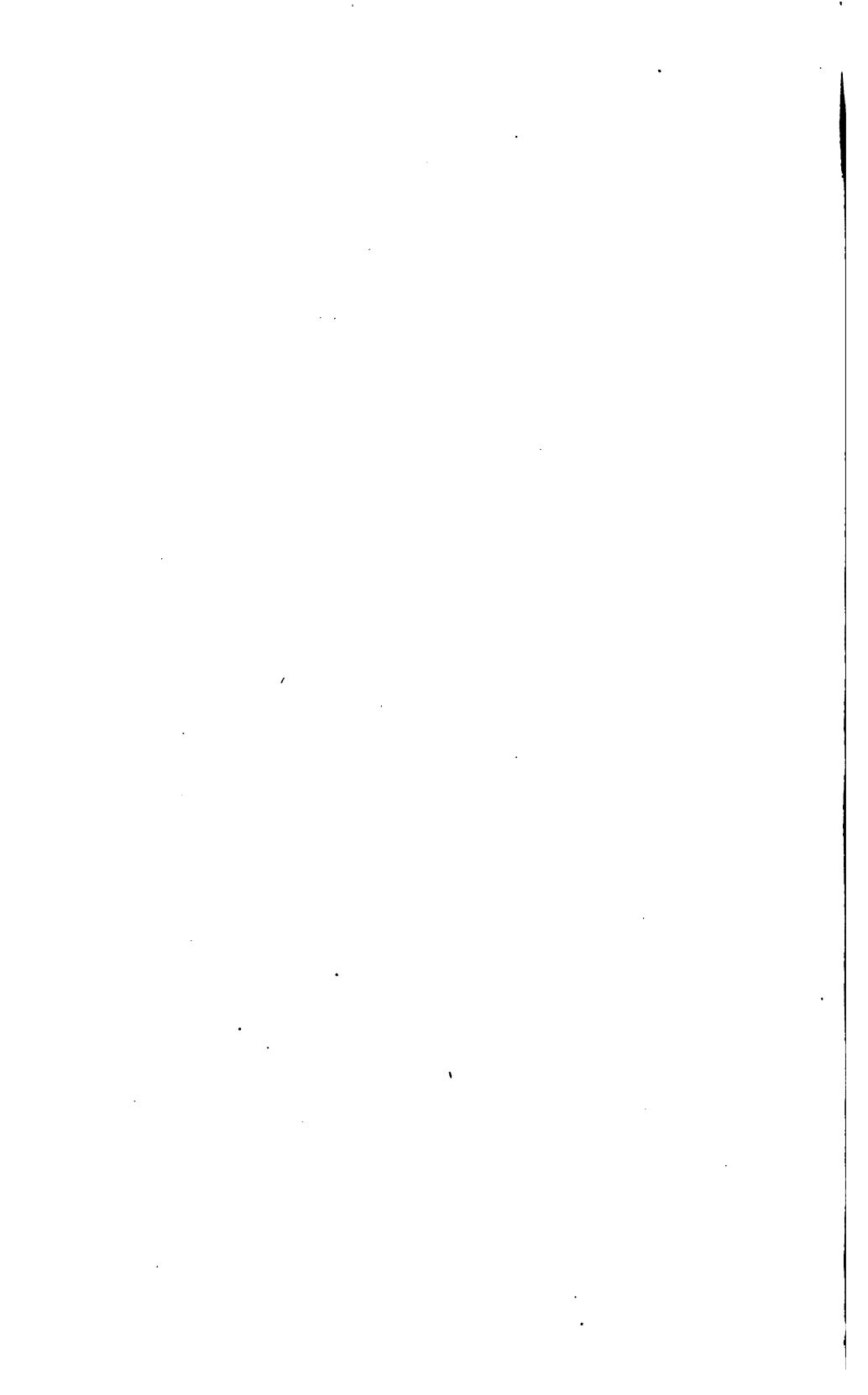
OF

THE LATE

DR. HENRY BATHURST,

LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH.

VOL. II.



M E M O I R S
OF
THE LATE
DR. HENRY BATHURST,
LORD BISHOP OF NORWICH.

BY THE REV. HENRY BATHURST, LL.B.
ARCHDEACON OF NORWICH;
RECTOR OF NORTH CREEK IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK, AND OF HOLLESLEY
IN THE COUNTY OF SUFFOLK; AND LATE TELLOW OF
NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD.

TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY A. J. VALPY.
SOLD BY
WHITTAKER AND CO., AVE MARIA LANE;
AND ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.
1837.

Bz 6802.37

1860, Jan. 31.

MEMOIRS, &c.

CHAPTER I.

1832 and early part of 1833—Extract from a letter respecting the * * * *, to whose company at the Bishop's whist-table the Archdeacon expressed himself not partial.

WITH respect to the * * * *, if he were a man whose mouth could be stopped by a quotation from our favourite author, I could easily give him twenty; “sed non est is, ut illum aut pudor a turpitudine, aut metus a dedecore deterreret;” though I do not estimate his character so low as you do, and know him to be a very good-tempered man: at all events his politics will not hinder me from playing at whist with him. Adieu! Love to your circle. I rejoice to hear of Fanny's safety.

Yours affectionately, &c.

H. NORWICH.

London, January the 10th, 1833.

Irish views.

My dear Henry,

Silence is the order of the day. With the exception of ministers, no one seems able even to guess what plans will be adopted : as soon as I hear any thing to be depended on, you shall not remain long uninformed ; at present I only *know* that Lord Grey is strongly disposed to serve me, but *when* it may be in his power to do it, is more than *I* or even *he* can answer for. A vacant Irish mitre will probably *in some degree* clear up our prospect.

Yours, &c.

Truly and affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, January 18th, 1832.

The same.

My dear Henry,

You may rest assured that I will omit no proper opportunity of forwarding your views upon Ireland to the utmost of my power.

With respect to the £250, give your note of hand to our friend Kitson, and I shall be perfectly content.

Pecuniary disappointments (and in the course of a long life I have experienced a tolerable number of them) never gave me a moment's uneasiness; because I had at *my* elbow, as you have at *yours*, ONE whose kindness made me, without much effort, set at nought "the changes and chances of this mortal life." Love to Fanny, not forgetting the rest of your circle. I shall rejoice to see you in March.

Yours, &c. &c.

Truly and affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, January 26th, 1832.

Extract of a letter on public affairs.

Ministers were *very nearly* out-voted in the House of Commons last week; had it been entirely so, it was I know their intention to resign. Things now look much better: the Reform Bill, in the course of three weeks or a month, will be carried triumphantly by Lord Althorpe; and in the Lords many will ABSENT themselves who lately opposed it, and many will consent to a little *modification*: some Bishops, with whom I am acquainted, are inclined to adopt the latter plan. In Ireland matters are going on very bad. Lord Carlisle will probably be Lord Lieutenant in the

room of the present. Adieu! Love to Fanny, not forgetting the remainder of your circle.

Yours, &c. &c. affectionately,

HENRY NORWICH.

London, January 31st, 1832.

Interest of his sons.

My dear Henry,

Being of opinion that my *personal attendance* might perhaps be of service to you and James, I sallied forth yesterday to the House of Lords; and Lord Grey expressed himself much obliged by my friendly exertion, desiring me at the same time not to stay too long. It appears to me that you have a fair prospect of an Irish mitre; between this and Christmas, when a vacancy occurs, lose no time in making application. The Tories and selfish temporising half-whigs will be disappointed—the victory is ours. The second reading will be carried by from ten to fifteen votes; and in the *Committee* the bill, with a few unimportant alterations, will be carried.

I was much gratified by being able to receive you and dear Fanny, not forgetting Anna, who is a very sweet-tempered valuable girl. I grieve to hear so indifferent an account of my amiable young friend, her sister. If change of air and of

scene should be recommended, or medical advice wanted, I shall be delighted to accommodate her here from Monday the 16th to Monday the 30th. I say *her*, because I have only accommodation for a *single person*; and Browne will, I am sure, readily part with her for a short time, if she be recommended to take my *prescription*, and accept my invitation. Adieu! Love to Fanny.

Yours, &c. affectionately,
H. NORWICH.

London, April the 10th, 1832.

Mrs. H. Bathurst.

My dear Henry,

Fanny's great merit entitles her to every possible attention which your relatives can show her; I do not know a more valuable character: the trifling mark of my regard for her, which is enclosed, falls as far short of her claims, as it does of my wishes; but such as it is, she will oblige me by accepting it. Love to your circle.

Yours, &c.

Truly and affectionately,
H. NORWICH.

Norwich, July 2nd, 1832.

Isle of Man.

The Governor of the *Isle of Man* is, *I hear*, very ill; James will *probably* have the offer of this government; and should the "*local habitation*" not be exactly what he wishes, he may change it for one *better situated*, though of inferior value. Poor Caroline writes in more cheerful spirits: her husband is still in "*durance vile*." Adieu! Love to Fanny and Anna.

Yours, &c.

Truly and affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

Branches Park, Oct. 12th, 1832.

Mrs. De Crepigny, and probable situation of that part of the family at the Bishop's death.

My dear Henry,

I shall be very glad to see you on either of the days you mention, and the longer you can conveniently stay, the better.

Poor Caroline's situation, and that of her four boys, give me some trouble and much vexation: the hour is at hand when you and James will be loudly called upon; for, after my departure, I am not aware that any one belonging to the De Cre-

pigny family will be either willing or indeed able to assist. Adieu! Kind love.

Yours, &c.

Truly and affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, Nov. 14th, 1832.

The vacancy of the see of Waterford.

My dear Henry,

The death of the Bishop of Waterford makes an opening for you; but I fear the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland will have the disposal of the see: Lord Albemarle may perhaps be kind enough to find this out.

With respect to poor Caroline's children, it is *at present* impossible to point out the best mode of serving them: time and other circumstances can alone direct the measures to be adopted: at all events great care and delicacy will be requisite. What you say is perfectly true, even if the mother should feel disposed to part with the boys. *

* * * * *

Newspapers—Isle of Man.

Our friend Mr. Hume you cannot think more highly of than I do, on account of his industry

and honest zeal in the interest of the public; but he is thought to estimate his *political weight* and his *abilities* much too highly.

Your *oracles*, Messrs. Ridgway and Co., assert that the *Duke of Wellington* is to be sent to Ireland, to *coerce* that wrong-headed people; but *this* most *assuredly* will *not* be the case: what will be, I know little more than this Delphic tribe, on whose veracity I rely much less than you do: indeed, friend as I am to the diffusion of knowledge, I begin in some measure to adopt the sentiments of the poet Crabbe, who is a much better judge of men and worldly matters, than most of the editors of newspapers. Speaking of *newspapers*, he says:—

Endless it were to sing the powers of all—
 Their *names*, their numbers, how they rise and fall :
 Like baneful herbs the gazer's eye they seize,
 Rush to the herd, and poison where they please :
 Like summer's flies, a busy burning train,
 They drop their maggots in the idler's brain ;
 The genial soil preserves the fruitful store,
 And there they grow, and breed a thousand more.

I did not mean to write so long a letter, and probably shall never do it again.

James has no prospect of the Isle of Man :

Colonel Ready is gone to take possession of that government some days since.

Yours, &c.

Truly and affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, Jan. 26th, 1833.

Mrs. De Crepigny.

* * * * * I have had a sad deal of trouble and vexation about poor Caroline, whose misfortunes are greater than her faults. Adieu! Kind love to Fanny and Anna.

Believe me

Truly and affectionately yours, &c.

H. NORWICH.

London, Jan. 31st, 1833.

General Bathurst gets the government of Berwick.

My dear Henry,

During the course of a very long life I never experienced so much real pleasure as I did yesterday, from a letter forwarded to me by your excellent friend Lord Albemarle; who was desired by Lord Grey to inform me that James was appointed governor of *Berwick*,—a *very* desirable

situation, worth between £500 and £600 a year. Knowing that you will partake of my joy upon this occasion, I lose not a moment in communicating such good news.

Yours, &c.

H. NORWICH.

London, Feb. 5th, 1833.

P. S. Love to Fanny.

Lord Grey and the government of Berwick.

James and his wife are here: their stay is uncertain. Lord Grey fought hard for him, and wrote me the kindest *letter* possible: without this addition, no management could have enabled him to defray the unavoidable expense attending the education of *six boys*.

I get weaker every day, but am free from *pain*, and should be so from *uneasiness* if poor Caroline and her children were in a more comfortable situation, than upon £200 a year she can possibly be.

I have settled Ben at school; and Henrietta's kindness to Tryphena * has been of great service

* A beautiful daughter, since deceased, of the Rev. Robert Bathurst, deceased.

to her: there cannot be a better-disposed or more pleasing girl than she is. Adieu! Kind love to Fanny and Anna.

Yours, &c.

Truly and affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, Feb. 17th, 1833.

CHAPTER II.

Some explanation of some allusions in the last Chapter—
Emancipation of the Jews—Tithe Bill—Poor Law Bill—
Why the Bishop acquiesced in the latter, viz. through
general confidence in the government which he supported,
and being unable to attend in person—Notice of the new
Bishop of Norwich, and his explaining away the nature of
schism.

THE allusion made to the government of Berwick shall be, without entering into details which would not be pleasant, explained.

Lord Melbourne had given reason to hope that General Bathurst should have had the government of Berwick when it should fall vacant, that government being at the disposal of the Secretary for the Home Department, which office Lord Melbourne then held: from circumstances unexplained satisfactorily, the General did not receive the appointment. In consequence of which, Lord Grey a short time afterwards, when the govern-

ment of Berwick became vacant, pressed that the vacancy should be filled up by General Bathurst, whose services it was admitted on all hands entitled him to the distinction; though many thought that an efficient situation would have been more consistent with the general plans of government, than a sinecure appointment like that of the government of Berwick. And indeed well did the General deserve some attention on account of services, though long since past; for he might point to Egypt, to Abercromby's tomb, to Portugal, to Corunna, and the grave of the gallant Sir John Moore, (whose right-hand man he was,) to Copenhagen, to Friedland, to Spain and Talavera, to Lisbon and Busaco, where his name was known and his talents distinguished. It was nothing but tardy, but honest, justice.

During the last few years of his life the Bishop resided in London, notwithstanding his repeated declarations that he would remain in Norwich for the rest of his life: but the house at Norwich is very large and very cold, and certainly not so suitable for an aged man's convenience in the Bishop's public situation, who wishes to avoid intrusion of more business than necessary, as a house in town, where more real retirement may be enjoyed by one in the situation of a bishop, than in the remotest part of the country.

Constant and regular correspondence was kept up by the Bishop with Mr. Kitson, his secretary in Norwich, and frequent personal interviews occurred ; and the diocese went on without any apparently serious interruption of business, the Bishop receiving aid from others of his episcopal brethren in ordinations, visitations, and confirmations—among the bishops, the Bishop of Rochester and of Worcester, and, it must be added, the Bishop of London (who seemed amiably to have repented of his errors towards his brother bishop, and determined to wipe out the name of being “his angry brother,”) were peculiarly kind.

Complaints in private, undoubtedly, were made, that a more active personal superintendence of the episcopal office was not displayed, and more exact inquiry made into the habits and manners of some few of the clergy ; but the instances where such strict interference was desirable were rare. The Bishop used often to say, that the practice of the church in other times ought to be followed in the Church of England, and a coadjutor appointed to a bishop above seventy years of age, who should discharge the active duties of his situation for him, and succeed him at his decease ; and indeed, if something equivalent at least were adopted, it would be very desirable, and perhaps this might be done by enlarging the

power of archdeacons, who with the assistance of some of the senior clergy might discharge some of the episcopal duties.

Old as the Bishop was, he seemed earnest on the subject of the emancipation of the Jews, as well as he had been about the Catholics, and while he was able to go to the House of Lords gave his vote in their favour; and when he could not go to the House of Lords, he gave it by proxy, no doubt on the general conviction that no religious opinions ought, without very extraordinary grounds of public safety, to be a reason for withholding from any one civil privileges such as others enjoy.

The Tithe bill was hailed by this prelate as a desirable accommodation afforded to all parties concerned, of adjusting their respective interests; though on this and on other subjects he gave, without the trouble of much inquiry, his full confidence to the government in the shape of his proxy.

But the public have a right still to ask, what were his sentiments on the subject of the Poor Law? The answer is, that here also he gave his full confidence to the government, as did many others, who must have felt some doubt as to the propriety of that great severity which is cha-

racteristic of it in comparison of the previous state of things.

That the previous state of things as to the administration of the poor law could not be tolerated, cannot be denied ; but whether such a stern stride to extreme measures was, all at once, and without trial of other means, justifiable, may be fairly made a question.

1. Would it not have been possible to have formed parish benefit societies, whereby each person belonging to such society might have been entitled, when sick or infirm, or past work, to a reasonable allowance without favour ?

2. Might not the same sum of money which is now spent in paupers' allowances, commissioners' workhouses, &c. &c. have been employed in forwarding the establishment of such society, and making the terms of assistance very easy ?

3. Might not the poor rates have been averaged in every parish for twenty-one years, with a view to assess a certain sum, payable by rate towards the establishment of this society ?—a full average, the first three years yearly, and a smaller proportion yearly every succeeding three years till twenty-one years should be elapsed, when the rate might altogether then have ceased ; all except a small proportion, which might have been retained towards the establishment of a county asylum for cases of extraordinary destitution ?

4. Might not the minister and two overseers and churchwardens, and two of the poorer class paying to the society, have formed a committee of management ; the two members

of the poorer class being elected yearly by those who paid to the society?

5. Might not the sums payable by the *existing generation*, under the age of fifty, be suitable to their ages and other circumstances; and in many cases have been paid for them out of the rate wholly or in part?

6. Might not those above fifty years of age have been dealt with according to their circumstances, and the infirm and aged have had allowance such as they before had, (where there is no fraud,) secured to them during life?

7. Might not the committee have decided upon any demands which should have been unreasonable, and have excluded all who would not work, and have found work for those who were without blame destitute of money or work, and have had the power of hiring or purchasing land or other means of employment, such as should have yielded some return?

8. Might not all who would not have acceded to the easy terms of becoming a member of the benefit society have been refused any assistance?

9. Might not young people have been thus gradually prepared by previous intimations to live by their own economy and foresight; and might not encouragement have been given, as by the present law, to migration and emigration, with a view to relieve particular spots from a surplus population?

10. Many regulations and details as to transfer, and especially existing interests, would have been necessary, but might have been arranged by close attention; and such an attempt would surely have been more humane and worthy of a free state than a violent change from extravagant allowances to the alternative of penury or a workhouse, where men with unconstitutional discretion have a power to separate

man from wife, children from parents, brothers from sisters, widows from their fatherless children, and to forbid even the nearest relatives, who may visit the imprisoned paupers, to have any conversation with those they visit, except in the presence of a third person. (See orders and regulations for the government of a workhouse.)

Posterity may ask, did Dr. Bathurst, the philanthropical Bishop of Norwich, sanction all this? and is it possible that he on whom every morning the widow and the destitute waited for aid, which they always received, and whose hand was ever open both to kindred and stranger, could acquiesce in such severity, without trying first some milder plan? It must be replied, that he was past the time when he could give his attention in person, and that he rested his confidence in those who professed to be, and whom he believed to be, friends to the rights and liberties of mankind. Reflections have been cast upon him by a Mr. Maberly, as having been hard upon him in calling him to residence, because he (Mr. Maberly) harangued the people against the poor law. The fact was, that Mr. Maberly had been already called to residence in the diocese of Norwich by the Bishop in consequence of a dispute with his curate, and before the receipt of the following official letter, written by one of the state-office clerks, and signed by Lord John Russell, with the accompanying enclosure:—

Whitehall, 9th October, 1836.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that it having been represented to me that the Rev. F. H. Maberly was in the habit of convening and attending public meetings at various places in the eastern counties, for the purpose of exciting opposition to the enactments of the new poor law, I directed my under-secretary to inform Mr. Maberly, that I should hold him responsible for any breach of the peace or other unlawful proceeding, which might take place at any meeting convened by him, at which he was present; and I brought his conduct under the notice of the Bishop of Ely, in whose diocese Mr. Maberly holds two curacies. By a letter which I have received from the Bishop of Ely in reply, it appears that Mr. Maberly has a living in your Lordship's diocese, and I beg to enclose a copy of this letter for your Lordship's consideration, with reference to Mr. Maberly's conduct on the occasions to which I have referred.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

J. RUSSELL.

The Lord Bishop of Norwich.

Ely, 4th October, 1836.

My Lord,

I had the honour this morning of receiving your Lordship's letter, enclosing me a copy of a letter of the Mayor of Bury St. Edmund's, on the subject of a meeting called by the Rev. F. H. Maberly at Bury St. Edmund's.

I am very sorry that any clergyman should act as Mr. Maberly has done, setting his own opinion against that of almost all upright persons and competent judges of this subject. I have written to him by this post upon the impropriety of such conduct, and have called his attention to the duties of the two parishes of which he is the curate, stating to him my opinion that his conduct is inconsistent with the due care of the parishes of Bourne and Kingston, which he has undertaken; and that if he perseveres in going about the county to the neglect of the two cures, I shall revoke his license.

I am afraid that Mr. Maberly is not open to any admonition of this kind; and in fact he ought to be called into residence in the diocese of Norwich, where he has a living, and not continue a curate in the diocese of Ely.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

J. ELY.

In reply to this communication, the Bishop only desired Mr. Kitson, his secretary, to say that Mr. Maberly had already been called to residence on another account, and made no further reply; nor did he notice other letters touching the matter, convinced, as he no doubt was, though he said little, that an application of episcopal authority against a clergyman, for even the abuse of a civil privilege, must be considered arbitrary, invidious, and unconstitutional; and Lord J. Russell and other irritable friends of the poor law should remember the maxim which is laid down by one of the greatest men of Bishop Hoadley's school, (Dr. Balguy,) that "To be governed by will is the condition of slaves—that the freest of men are those who live by settled rules under the influence of authority, prudently constituted and temperately used." * And the new Bishop of Norwich, before he ventures again to stand forward as the unqualified friend of the new poor law, would do well to consider the mediating character of a sound Christian minister, and moreover, before he attempts again to instruct his clergy as to the nature of schism, as if sincerity alone was the test of right in all cases, he would do well to go to his natural authority,

* P. 121.

Archdeacon Balguy, and learn from him (who is extremely liberal and a sound whig) as to the nature of schism, that a "religion founded upon reason (that is, in opposition to enthusiasm and superstition,) willingly submits to human authority in all points not essential to the cause of piety and virtue:"* and that at least, "they who depart from rules for no other reason than because they are prescribed by authority, act on a principle inconsistent with the very being of society, either ecclesiastical or civil:"† and the Bishop will do well at all events another time to explain, whether he forgets those reasonable limitations on this subject.

* Page 107.

† Page 127.

CHAPTER III.

1833-1834, to January 22nd, 1835.

Anxiety to serve his eldest son.

My dear Henry,

Feeling myself declining very fast, I am more than commonly anxious to adopt any measure which promises to promote effectually your professional views: tell me therefore precisely what you wish, and no effort of mine shall be wanting, before I join my ancestors, to crown that wish with success.

Enclosed is a letter for Fanny, to whom give my kind love, and

Believe me

Your affectionate father and friend,

H. NORWICH.

Norwich, July the 2nd, 1833.

Alludes to a publication of his son's.

My dear Henry,

Many thanks for your second letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury; it appears to me, as the first did, judicious and well written. * * *

Yours, &c. &c. affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

Norwich, Sept. 3rd, 1833.

An affair of a living given away by Lord Brougham, contrary to understanding with the Bishop—Speaks of a visitation charge, as not being able to make one, and wishes the Bishop of Rochester to take the whole on himself of the ensuing visitation.

My dear Henry,

Your letter, with the enclosed Fakenham note, arrived this morning.

Alderson is, I firmly believe, a very exemplary clergyman; but about a living which I wished to obtain for a poor curate, perhaps Lord Brougham was more to blame than he was.

With respect to a Charge of my own composition, the wishes of my brethren have, as they ought to have, great weight with me, and the subjects you allude to are certainly both interesting and important; but in these feverish days, the

attacks upon the clergy and the established church, from all quarters, are so *numerous* and so *violent*, that a *cursory*, *superficial* discussion would answer no purpose; and an *angry* one “would tend to *aggravate*, and not to *heal*.” To these considerations, I am sorry to add, that my abilities are not equal to the task of composing a *learned*, *comprehensive*, *moderate*, and *judicious* defence of an establishment, the welfare of which I have sincerely at heart; silence therefore appears to be, upon the whole, the most prudent step I can take; and I trust that my very kind friend the Bishop of Rochester will be of this opinion. In truth, my strength of mind as well as body begins to fail me exceedingly. Love to Fanny and the young ones.

Yours, &c. affectionately,

HENRY NORWICH.

London, March 11th, 1834.

Mem. Lord Brougham took the living above alluded to out of the Bishop's hands, notwithstanding his previous intimations that the Bishops were to dispose of Chancellor's livings under £200 a year, and after the Bishop had nominated another person.

Extract, showing the Bishop's prepared and resigned state.

I continue free both from pain of body and uneasiness of mind, but so weak that it is not without difficulty that I can open my mouth; and as for walking, I am rarely equal to the effort; but I am as I ought to be—very thankful for a calm and cheerful resignation, which in “life's last stage” is the best blessing that can be bestowed upon us. Love to all.

Yours, &c. affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, April the 9th, 1834.

P. S. I feel very much obliged to the Bishop of Rochester: the business of the diocese, but for him, must have been neglected.

A letter alluding to the Archdeacon's protest in the Norfolk papers, against the high church address to the King, with the view of opposing the Irish Church Bill, 1834.

My dear Henry,

Your letter published this day in the ‘Norwich Mercury’ does you great credit. With respect to the absurd cry, that “the Church is in danger,” it may be justly said, that the danger arises (if there be any) from the narrow senti-

ments and illiberal conduct of those who raise the cry.

Whenever you have leisure to come, I shall be glad to see you, and the longer you can stay, the better.

Yours, &c. &c.

Truly and affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, May 16th, 1834.

On the subject of the Petition to the King from Rev. Mr. Oldershaw, Archdeacon of Norfolk, and the body of the clergy of the Norfolk archdeaconry.

My dear Henry,

Mr. Coke * is certainly the best friend I have in the world, not excepting even Lord Grey; and his sentiments respecting the line of conduct which, *in general*, it is advisable for the clergy to pursue, coincide exactly with my own; but Archdeacon Oldershaw will not allow his clerical brethren to “remain *quiet*.” What are the “measures” alluded to in his circular, as “ruinous to the established church,” I am at a loss to *guess*; but I *know most assuredly* that no measure can be

* Archdeacon Bathurst had an interview with Mr. Coke respecting the petition in favour of the Irish Appropriation Bill. The Archdeacon would be happy if Mr. Coke’s conduct towards him and the Bishop’s family could justify the title here given him.

half so injurious to our ecclesiastical establishment, as a want of that "peace and good-will towards men" of all descriptions, which our Divine Master came down from Heaven to proclaim.

You are at liberty to make what use you please of this declaration of my opinion: follow your own judgment about a liberal address, to which, if drawn up by you, I have no objection to adding my name. Love to your circle.

Yours, &c.

H. NORWICH.

Norwich, July 16th, 1834.

The address of Mr. Oldershaw alluded to above was one of those addresses then pouring in from all quarters from the high church party: and here it must be observed, when the editor first announced this memoir to the public, it was his intention to have given a body of correspondence, in his possession, which would have most strongly elucidated and fixed in particular matters and on particular persons the charges there made of the strangest conduct towards himself and the small party in the Church adhering to the whig policy—but such strong remonstrances have been made from various quarters, entitled to consideration from the editor, that he hopes the public will excuse him for withholding that part of the documents which

he had intended to insert, and for having recast the part alluded to, even after the press sheets were struck off. The very great and well-known respect shown to him by the numerous clergy of his archdeaconry, coupled with the testimonies already given, and the kind feelings and wishes of his father conveyed in the various letters given, he trusts, will sufficiently prove to the public that he deserved better treatment than he has met with from those in power ; and so long as he can uphold himself in a fair way, and with that spirit which becomes every man, and especially in a public situation, he is willing to make allowances for past difficulties and secret lets and hindrances, and is not desirous, if he can avoid it, further to wound or make angry any one, how much soever he may feel their usage, without a distinct, adequate, justifiable, and necessary object affecting himself. Suffice it to say, that during his father's life, it is quite clear, that, without any cause reflecting on himself, he was neglected, and to all intents and purposes proscribed by a party whom he and his father had so faithfully served : and if it be argued, that some others distinguished for merit and service may seem to have been proscribed also, he would reply, that no one in the kingdom could in the disposition of church affairs have the same claims to be considered by the whig party under ordinary circumstances, as the

only son in the Church of the Bishop of Norwich, the Bishop having declared himself, from extreme age, unable to avail himself of any benefit which might result from his own claims.

To make the allusion to the Second Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the sentiments of the Bishop clearer on the ecclesiastical subjects there touched upon, it will be expedient to give the pamphlet itself; it being very short.

A Second Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

My Lord Archbishop,

The Irish Church bill has passed into a law. It is now the duty of those who are officially interested in the concerns of the Church of England to look to the bearings of that bill upon our established church in this part of the united kingdom.

This principle (whether inoperatively as to conciliation of the Irish people or not) by the Irish Church bill has been clearly admitted, viz. that the State has a right to re-model the Church as to its internal arrangements, with a view to its efficiency and better satisfying the purposes for which it was instituted. The only question that remains is, whether, circumstanced as the Irish Church peculiarly is, with regard to the population of 700,000 belonging to the established

church, and 7,000,000 to the Roman Catholic church, a larger admission might not have been made, and a portion of the church property applied to general education and the relief of the poor, congenial to the pious and charitable intentions with which much of the church property was certainly left; and whether, by arrangements which I ventured in my former letter to suggest, a more satisfactory and permanent adjustment might not have been made—an adjustment more likely to tranquillise the public mind in Ireland as to church property, and to insure the cheerful payment of all the dues belonging to its temporalities.

I think it might—but the event will soon prove who is right, and I leave the decision to that over-ruling Providence whose wisdom alone is perfect.

There is, however, one direct and important—most important—bearing upon the affairs of the Church of England of the Irish bill, to which I venture to draw your attention in this letter.

The Irish Church rate being done away, and the Irish Church property being made chargeable therewith, has raised expectations in this country of some similar arrangement in England; and I think it right thus distinctly and publicly to tell you, that even in my archdeaconry, where I have

within these few years exercised the most decisive, though, in my judgment, necessary, act of authority in one instance, and with successful issue, I have within these three or four weeks past received from another quarter a very respectful but decisive refusal to comply, this year, with an extensive order made upon one of the numerous parishes in my archdeaconry; and which order, on consultation, and in compliance with the advice and consent of a very sensible man, the rector, at whose intimation a close inspection of the church edifice was made, I have suspended only with a view to present conciliation, but with a determination, if necessary, by-and-bye to see the order fully executed by compulsory means; and this in a parish where previously orders not strictly compulsory, but commendatory, and unlike the orders now in question, have been executed in the most liberal and creditable manner.

Up, my Lord Archbishop, and look to these things!—"Verte omnes tete in facies." It is quite evident that some parishes are waiting to see if they cannot get rid of the church rate altogether.

In arranging the transfer of the vestry cess or church rate in Ireland, make it plain to the country how very different the circumstances of the Irish and the English church are; and as a

slip has been made in Ireland, by not changing the vestry cess into an equal average charge upon the land for some useful public purpose,—such as the foundation of a poor rate, so much wanted there, or as a fund to assist the education of the people,—take it into your serious consideration, whether in this country the land or houses have any right to expect to be relieved from an immemorial charge altogether; and whether, at all events, the amount fairly averaged (if the church rate be done away) should not be applied to education in schools upon a broad principle, upon which the only condition should be, that the children who are therein educated shall go, and give an account of their going, to some place of religious worship on a Sunday; and where those points in religion, much and by any great number disputed among Christians, should not be insisted upon, but those only upon which the greater part of Christians agree.

And to do what we can for ourselves in particular, consider, whether out of the funds which shall arise from taxation of large preferments of all descriptions in the Church, some part may not be applied in every parish to schools, the condition of which shall be that they shall be dedicated exclusively to the service of the establishment; or at least (which would be much better)

with decided advantages given to those children who enter such schools, as attendants exclusively on the established church; or, if any other plan shall appear more advisable, adopt it; only let it be as liberal as possible, consistently with a manly preference of the Church to which we belong.

To affect existing interests generally, is unjust; but in a moderate degree, even existing interests might (say two per cent,) as to net value be surely affected with propriety and with great advantage; and a most useful class of men might be brought forward in every parish, who would prove a great benefit to society generally, and to the establishment in particular; and in a manner much more satisfactory to my mind than by voluntary subscriptions, on the present plan of the National School Society. Let each parish avail itself of any charities left for a similar purpose; let these charities be under the superintendence of legally expressed authorities, so as to secure their most useful application; and let each parish have a fund, greater or less, established by law, from taxation of church property, to be applied in a definite way, and under the inspection of definite and legally fixed authorities.

I wish curates to be well paid and affectionately treated; but I wish more to see arrange-

ments made whereby an incumbent should be (as existing interests die off) in every parish, and who should be obliged to do his duty, or, whenever prevented by calamity, should be compelled to have an efficient substitute, the terms with whom might be better left to the parties concerned, so long as the duties are effectually performed.

Compulsory payments of curates can only be applicable where there are pluralists ; and there they are, in my judgment, liable to insuperable difficulties. The great object which church discipline has in view, is to see that the incumbent does his duty, if possible, himself ; if not, that it is effectually done by another ; and the surest way is to provide that he can have no motive to shift it on the shoulders of another, except unavoidable necessity. Remove pluralities as fast as existing interests die off, and the public will have no concern to interfere about curates any more than they would, if I, who reside on one of my livings, should be absent for a few weeks, and should get a proper person to officiate for me ; in which case, surely it is nothing to any one what terms I make with my friend.

And with regard to curates, if, while pluralities exist, it is expedient, as it may be, to take any further steps, let it be simply to provide

“ that every species, direct or indirect, through
“ right understanding or wrong understanding,
“ of arrangement or agreement hitherto had or
“ made, shall be void, and not in any way plead-
“ able on the part of any rector, vicar, or other
“ spiritual person employing a curate, in bar of
“ paying to the full amount the sums fixed by the
“ last Act regulating the stipends of curates;
“ but that the same sums therein allowed and
“ specified shall be ascertained by the church-
“ wardens and overseers, and shall be paid by
“ them by monthly instalments, according to an
“ exact equal weekly division to the person or
“ persons performing the duty (if not the incum-
“ bent himself) in the parish church, and charged
“ to the incumbent, with all the facilities of re-
“ covery given for the recovery of a parish rate;
“ and the additional power of receiving a portion
“ of tithe or rent at the end of the year due to
“ the incumbent, and equal to the payments so
“ due, in case such other means of recovery shall
“ be of no avail, and with preference to any
“ other debt or dues whatsoever; and let existing
“ interests be liable to this arrangement.

“ Save and except only that the above power
“ shall be not exercised by churchwardens and
“ overseers, except upon application of the cu-

“rate officiating, and upon proof to be allowed
“by two magistrates that such interference is
“necessary.”

Beyond this (unless it be to give prompt and easy means to appoint a *good* curate where the incumbent neglects and is inefficient) it would be unadvisable, I should humbly think, to go, but certainly and with precision to this full extent, for reasons which it is unnecessary for me to explain.

Education—equitable and well considered abolition of pluralities, as pluralists die off, or, in other words, entire abolition, except in the shape of consolidation of small contiguous parishes into one benefice; and residence, including dilapidations, a share of income due to deceased incumbent, and more equal distribution of revenue in general, and a greater facility of enforcing church discipline by defined authority, are the other most material matters that the Church of England requires to be fresh regulated. But it cannot be too much impressed upon the people at large, that the circumstances of the Church of Ireland are wholly different from those of the Church of England, have very little analogy, and that an exemption of property from church charges, hitherto borne, without application of the same sum hitherto levied to congenial purposes,

will lay the foundation of that which will tempt proprietors, without any regard to the public interest, to rob the Church, that they may fill their own pockets : sooner than consent to which, I would rather have every shilling of church dues and church property exacted rigidly, and laid at the entire disposal of the legislature, for any public purposes, and in any manner which might seem fit; for this would be to insure, at least, some general application, and not be robbing Peter, (as the proverb goes,) to pay Paul.

If any one asks, What makes the difference between the circumstances of the Irish Church and ours? it may be answered, They are three. In Ireland, the Roman Catholic Church has differences hitherto considered far more vital with the established church, than those which exist between the Protestant established church in England and Protestant dissenters. In England, a vast proportion of those who frequent dissenting worship still use the leading ordinances of our Church—baptise, bury, marry, and women return thanks after childbirth at Church, who are rarely seen there at other times; besides that, the same vast proportion of those who appear to dissent, do not object to those articles of our Church which cannot embrace Roman Catholics. The door

seems shut against Roman Catholics, and only ajar as to Protestant dissenters.

It would be well, also, for the peace and security of the Church, if every effort were made by cheapening university education, or admitting those who cannot afford to go to a university, to a right to offer themselves for public examination at universities, as candidates for orders, with a distinct understanding as to the course of examination through which all candidates are to go, and the time when, and the examiners who, so that respectable individuals of any class of society may by their learning and conduct obtain holy orders; and this mode would be best for all candidates who want to enter the Church. For why should these things rest with a Bishop's chaplain? It is too much for the chaplain, or three chaplains and the Bishop together; and a thousand reasons, which it is not necessary to state, would make it far better that at each university there should be (and if in the north, it is too far to go, a commission might be given to a certain number of able clergy at Durham or York,) twice in the year, a public examination of candidates for orders, who should bring proper testimonials of their lives with them, and that none should be ordained by a Bishop who has not a certificate from such examiners.

A college degree should not be necessary while education at universities is so expensive ; but the test of admission, as to qualifications, should be shorter than it is, and more definite. I have, assisted by another gentleman, myself examined fifty-four candidates at one ordination, and discontinued my task because I felt so deeply the difficulty and delicacy of it, and may therefore be some little judge of the matter.

The time, at all events, is come, when we ought to show that the welfare of the universal Church of Christ, and his spiritual kingdom, the power and prevalence of Christian feelings, Christian principles, Christian actions, rather than the triumph or ascendancy of a sect or party, is our object ; or, if we seek the triumph of a party, it ought to be only with a view to the final union and unity of all who profess and call themselves Christians. In this spirit, indeed, our Church in Ireland may be a valuable missionary Church ; but both there and in England, if we really aim at Christian unity, we must act upon Bishop Warburton's principle, that " the broader the " basis is of a religious institution, (consistently " with those regulations which are necessary to " the composition of a religious society,) the wiser " and juster is that institution."

The time is come when a further reformation

in the Church is required by the public voice, and when the church property is expected to answer religious purposes more nationally and effectively, than hitherto of late. The reformation itself has, by separating the Catholics from us, and giving rise to many sects among Protestants, made it desirable that the general purposes of religion, for which the property was left, rather than exclusively of a sect or party, should be consulted, without however at the same time destroying the consequence of the dominant sect or party, which is considered by, and has long been considered bound up with and most congenial to the other institutions of the country, namely, the episcopal Church. When unforeseen circumstances arise as to the disposition of property left long ago, we ought, in equity, to consider what those who left it would probably, with unbiassed minds, and intentions equally pious with those which actuated their bequests, have recommended now. Their piety, their wisdom, as they are canonised and sanctified by death, ought so to be referred to now, as of spirits of the just made perfect, as raised above worldly prejudices and passions of the day, and, like guardian angels, watching over us; and in this exalted character we ought to ask what is likely to be most congenial, so far as our wisdom can see, to their

views. For they are now, like that "Divom numen" described by the poet, and in possession of more, we trust, than is expressed by what follows :—

Sedesque quietæ
Quas neque concutiunt venti neque nubila nimbis
Conspargunt, neque nix acri concreta pruna
Cana cadens violat, semperque innubilis æther
Integit et large diffuso lumine ridet.*

In short, even as the heathen deity is fabled to have removed the mist which concealed the antagonist's deities from the sight of Æneas amid the flames of Troy, even so "nubem eripiam."

These sentiments I offer to the public, in the shape of an address to your Grace, a second time, of which I have desired the bookseller to send you a copy. In company with many others, I feel a deep interest that all changes which may take place should be done at once effectually, and with a view to permanency and settled peace, not doggedly, drily, timidly towards friends, and much less unkindly, and still less coaxingly and

* They are, we trust, as Gray describes, the spirits of the blessed :

Their years, their little triumphs o'er,
Their human passions now no more,
Save charity, which glows beyond the tomb.

cunningly towards bitter opponents. Respect, a manly opponent is entitled to, and to regard, but not to preference to a tried friend ; but while I wish for what is effectual, I wish it to be done while as yet the public feeling will demand nothing that is unjust towards existing interests, which measures, defective in the operation, at least prospectively, of great principles, may and will provoke.

I am your Grace's respectful servant,

H. BATHURST.

To the above, all that it is necessary to add is, that when Catholics and Dissenters ask for concessions such as those he proposed, they should remember that they ought to be considered as *concessions* and not as *rights* ; because when the *Catholic Relief bill* and the *Repeal of the Test and Corporation acts* were passed, by those acts Catholics and Dissenters particularly bound themselves, that upon condition of these concessions they would agree solemnly not to impair or injure the established church,—in short, not to interfere more against that Church, but to put up with what seemed the remainder of grievances connected therewith : and, on the other hand, the established church will only act generously and justly by extending concessions to every thing that may

yet be considered a grievance, never at the same time losing sight of the safety and principles of the establishment: — we are as Christians not merely to do our bare duty, but to be “always abounding in the works of the Lord.”

The principal subject of the first letter to the Archbishop, which also the Bishop approved, may be comprehended briefly in the following proposals, summed up as to the Irish Church, always with an understanding that the Protestant Church is to be treated as a Christian friend giving up for peace and equity what strict justice, under a specific bargain, could not insist upon.

1. That as existing interests die off in Ireland, the different ranks of the clergy be paid according to situation and work.
2. That for this purpose the whole of the church property, as present interests die off, shall be put into the hands of the commissioners, who shall pay them according to a fixed rule, only allotting the houses of residence and a reasonable portion of land for the bishops and other ministers of the Church, in addition to the salary.
3. That existing interests be allowed to let their tithes and other property to commissioners, and make the best bargain they can, liable to any compulsory adjustment as to tithe which the legislature may provide.
4. That the surplus of church property in commissioners' hands be employed for the following purposes:—

1. To pay reasonable expenses of commission.
2. Church repairs.
3. House repairs.
4. To purchase lay tithes at a fair valuation, (unless some other legislative provision be made, which shall cause such purchase to be inexpedient,) which shall make a part of the property in commissioners'

hands. 5. To pay the fair value of advowsons, which shall be purchased and become a part of Church and State property in commissioners' hands. 6. To pay, as funds shall advance and demands on them decrease, other ministers of Christianity, without distinction, and especially Catholic clergy, according to a fixed rule, on a sound discretion, for the pious education of their adherents. 7. Also, if any remain, to apply the remainder to charitable purposes, without religious distinction.

If to the above provisions it were added that the Catholic hierarchy and Protestant dissenting ministers, in fixed number, should be honorary members of the commission, with power to recommend objects of application, and at reasonable periods to inspect accounts, the whole scheme would be rendered worthy of the great principles of Christian benevolence. If such measures are to be resisted, Catholic emancipation and political reform ought not to have been granted: but both these concessions were just, and their consequences are just. Nothing is wanted but a sincere admission of popular leaders in Ireland, that they will not press matters, at all events for years to come, beyond those concessions in Church affairs. The same may be said of any church-rate concession once made satisfactory, as to mere church-rate with regard to Dissenters, for without doubt a halt and a good breathing time must be allowed somewhere. By the above concessions, as to Irish Church property, a long truce, at all events, may be gained. By the above concessions in Ireland, tithe will become public property, in which all classes in Ireland would have an interest, opposition to it would cease, and it would receive its value without giving forty per cent. to the landlord for his trouble in fighting the battle. General peace would ensue: a principle, it is true, at variance with an exclusive church, would be admitted, and some danger of that principle being pushed

to extremes would ensue : but remedies might be applied without injury to the establishment, as difficulties arise ; and the established church, instead of being an object of hatred and jealousy with numbers, might become a rallying point for every sincere Christian, and an object of respect with all those whose respect is at all worth having. It may be said that by such schemes the Catholics are only to be soothed by the plunder of our Church ; but let it be remembered that they retort—" You live by property which was plundered from us, and in which, as we are ten to one, we have a larger share of equitable right surely than you, who have merely deprived us of it by force."

The address in opposition to Mr. Oldershaw's address, alluded to in the letter dated July 16th, 1834, was drawn up by the Archdeacon, and sent to the Home Secretary for presentation, (Lord Duncannon being then Home Secretary,) and was somehow lost,—Lord Duncannon said, in the office,—and never presented. It was signed by Archdeacons Bathurst and Glover, and 47 other clergy ; and the Bishop's name was at the top.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the loyal and dutiful address of the Bishop of Norwich, the Archdeacon of Norwich, Archdeacon of Sudbury, and the undersigned Clergy of the Established Church in the diocese of Norwich. June, 1834.

We, the undersigned, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Bishop of Norwich, the Archdeacon of Norwich, the Archdeacon of Sudbury, and others, being

clergymen of the established church in the diocese of Norwich, beg leave, in common with our professional brethren in various quarters, though in terms somewhat different, yet with good intent the same, to approach your Majesty with an expression of our sentiments as to the interests and duties of the established church during the present crisis of affairs.

In the expressions of thankful confidence reposed in your Majesty's kind feelings towards our Church establishment we fully concur; but as it appears to us that in some quarters language containing reflections at least indirectly upon recent councils of your Majesty, and symptomatic of alarm thence arising, has been conveyed to your Majesty, we feel it our duty to declare, that whatever differences of opinion may exist among the undersigned as to particular measures, their probable operation, their detail, and their extent as more or less sweeping or confined, we are under no alarm whatever at those councils, being confident that when fully matured by the wisdom of the legislature, they will assume a bearing entirely consistent with your Majesty's assured attachment to our sacred institutions, and will increase the stability and efficiency thereof.

We live in times when men should speak plainly. We claim the protection of the State for our Church, but we claim it not as the creature of the State and the prop of a party, or a sect civil or religious selfishly and exclusively, but as the best means of extending sound religious instruction and comfort to that community, for the benefit of which our forefathers bequeathed their property to the Church, of which Kings have proved the "nursing fathers" and Queens the "nursing mothers," and the honours and emoluments of which we share by express authority of the State; and we deem it inconsistent therefore to acknowledge this, and to

claim the protection of the State, and yet to deny the right of the State to interfere afresh in the amplest manner in the regulation of the temporalities and externals of our Church, keeping in view the great purposes for which they were designed, doing no injustice to individuals, and no violence to the general rights of property.

We know too that in the external arrangements of the Church depending upon human wisdom, correction and improvement are continually required; and while we gratefully acknowledge your Majesty's assured attachment to the substantial integrity of our sacred institutions, we feel the greater gratitude, because from your Majesty's most recent councils we are convinced that those councils will, year succeeding year, tend more and more to perpetuate those institutions by every charitable and consistently to be expected accommodation of a Christian temper to the extended body of the universal Church of all who profess and call themselves Christians; and by your endeavours to give them additional encouragements, to live in unity of spirit and that bond of peace which are so inseparable from that true righteousness of life, all the objects of our supplication to the throne of Almighty God!

We lament the hostile language held by some enemies of our Church establishment, and we would remind them that bigotry and prejudice may be the faults of those who blindly hate, as well as those who are blindly attached to things established. But deterred neither by the fear of enemies on one side, nor warped by what appear to us unreasonable apprehensions of well-wishers on the other, we will go hand in hand with your Majesty in all those judicious and well-considered accommodations to the temper and fair demands of the times, which shall be fenced and secured by justice to individuals, by a due regard to the laws of property, and,

above all, by attachment to the real interests of that faith and form of worship which we have derived from our fathers, and would leave in improved value and safety to our children, remembering always that justice, charity, and peace are the surest tests of Christian character and of Christian institutions.

The Bishop who subscribes his name to this address to your Majesty at the close of the ninetieth year of his age, feels it his duty to leave thus his testimony to your Majesty and to posterity, as to what he deems the true policy of the Church and government through all time; and the Archdeacons and Clergy undersigned feel it their duty in like manner to deliver boldly their concurrence in the sentiments above expressed, both Bishop and undersigned Clergy assuring your Majesty that they will ever pray, &c.

Now, looking back to this address, the last public act in which the Archdeacon lent, as he had so long lent to various public acts his helping hand before, to the testamentary declarations of his father's opinions,—opinions for which his father had been so boasted of, though so neglected by the great men of the whig party,—it does seem hard that his son should, when opportunity offered, have been so pointedly neglected, and actually, as there is reason to believe, proscribed, because he took so active a political part in behalf of his father's feelings and opinions. It is the fashion to say that politics and a parson and a pulpit have nothing to do with each other. Why, the very business and office of a minister of an es-

tablished church is to uphold the order of things under which he lives, and the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of his country. "Watchman! what of the night? watchman! what of the night?"—When he is asked, he is bound to give an answer as to his exertions affecting the sacred order altogether of which he is so important a member, as well as the spiritual and temporal interest of the particular department in which he is appointed. He is to try public measures, and even public men, by the great test of Gospel purity and practical benefit, and especially the rules of humanity and Christian love; and wo to that minister, though he ought to be discreet in language and pure in motives, who does not rebuke vice boldly, who impugns not error, and stands not up even against principalities and powers and spiritual wickedness in high places, if so be that great occasions arise. Even in Turkey the ministry of religion softens the rigour of despotism; and shall a Christian minister be blamed for pleading warmly the cause of his fellow-creatures if oppressed, and his fellow-subjects if misled or grossly misgoverned, and the institutions, of which he is a guardian, in danger? Never, never, may the Church be so degraded as not to raise her voice when conscience dictates! And the writer of these pages would be ungrateful to

his professional brethren if he did not declare that during the twenty-three years which he has held a distinguished office among his clerical brethren, and differing from and having exerted himself in opposition to so many of them, they on their part, while boldly asserting their views, have not disparaged or reviled but respectfully treated him, while asserting his own views even in opposition to theirs.

Domestic matters. Two letters from the Bishop.

My dear Henry,

If your affectionate letter cannot make me young, it certainly makes me forget that I am old. In truth, kindness is the best cordial for age, and my nearest and dearest relatives supply me with a never-failing cup of this cordial. Poor * * * * is the only exception, and she is far more to be pitied than blamed.

December 3rd, 1834.

My dearest Henry,

In spite of age and excessive weakness, your affectionate attention revives me. Many thanks for the kind offer you make me, which I should gladly accept of, but James is coming at the time you mention.

January 19th, 1835.

Your hint respecting * * * * shall be attended to.

Yours, &c. most truly,
H. NORWICH.

London, Jan. 19th, 1835.

His prepared state of mind.

My dearest Henry,

Sir Henry Halford's prescription has done me much good, but your affectionate letter much more; in truth, "*medicina animi est amicitia*;" and it is unquestionably a far more *effectual* remedy to any feeling mind than Apothecaries' Hall can afford, even under the direction of the ablest physician.

Mr. Coke has been for more than half a century the kindest of friends, and this without the smallest interruption: I have bequeathed him a mourning-ring as a mark of my *gratitude, esteem, and affection*.*

* The editor has honestly given the *real* feelings of his father's mind towards Mr. Coke,—feelings which he only wishes had been justified by facts and circumstances. The editor can truly say, that for sixteen or seventeen years past he has received every mark of neglect, insult, and unkindness from Mr. Coke, notwithstanding repeated and vain efforts at the only species of reconciliation which could be honourable.

Anna's match promises well, and her excellent temper cannot fail to secure the happiness she deserves. In spite of age and *excessive* weakness, I still continue free both from pain of body and uneasiness of mind ; that you may say the same at the same time is my heart-felt wish.

Remember me very kindly to dear Fanny, and her namesake when you see her.

Yours, &c. &c.

Most affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, Jan. 22nd, 1835.

CHAPTER IV.

Miscellaneous matters in 1835 and 1836.

My dear Henry,

I still continue free both from pain of body and uneasiness of mind; and not only so, but cheerfully ready to depart when summoned, "nor cast one longing, lingering look behind." It is not in the power of any human being to imagine a happier state than this, and I feel grateful for being able to say that this state is mine. * *

Letter from Lord Wellesley to the Bishop of Norwich.

Richmond, March 22nd, 1835.

My dear Lord,

Some short time previous to my departure from Ireland, I wrote a few lines to your Lordship, requesting that Mr. Yorke's letters

dimissory might be sent to the Bishop of Limerick, who had been so kind as to promise that he would ordain Mr. Yorke upon receiving these papers from your Lordship.

I shall feel greatly obliged to you if you will inform me what steps have been taken in the matter, as it is of the greatest and indeed essential importance to Mr. Yorke that the letters should be sent to the Bishop of Limerick with as little delay as practicable,

The kind and friendly manner in which your Lordship met my wishes in Mr. Yorke's * favour, will, I trust, be a sufficient excuse for my troubling you again on the subject.

Always, my dear Lord, with the greatest respect and affection,

Yours most sincerely and obliged,

WELLESLEY.

A family matter.

My dear Henry,

Captain Phipps is very fortunate in possessing so cheerful and amiable a wife as Anna ;

* Mr. Yorke is a gentleman, the editor believes, who has been in the army, and who, like other officers from the same profession who have been ordained, has proved a most exemplary clergyman.

and from what I hear of him, she is no less fortunate. With respect to *money*, having never during the course of a very long life given myself any trouble about it, I may perhaps not sufficiently estimate its value; but be this as it may, they have at present a comfortable income.

I shall be happy to receive Fanny and the two children, should she like to bring them: I need not add that I shall rejoice to see you.

I continue free both from pain of body and uneasiness of mind.

Love to Fanny.

Yours, &c.

Sincerely and affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, June the 29th.

The following two letters are addressed to Henry Villebois, Esq., of Marham House, Norfolk. Mr. H. V.'s youngest daughter is married to Captain Bathurst, (of the Scots Fusileer Guards,) son of Archdeacon Bathurst; and his attentions to the Bishop personally have, from the first date of the connexion, been as kind as any ever received from Mr. Coke, and to his family beyond all comparison superior, like those of many other tories, to any received from the Bi-

shop's political admirers, with two or three exceptions :—

Dear Sir,

“ In life's last stage ” the friendly attention of those we value contributes more effectually to smooth the road which leads to our journey's end, than all that kings or ministers can bestow ; accept therefore my grateful acknowledgments for your kind present, and believe me

Your affectionate and obliged, &c.

HENRY NORWICH.

London, September the 14th, 1835.

Dear Mr. Villebois,

If my gratitude should make me a troublesome correspondent, your unintermitted kindness is the cause of it ; for I cannot receive such repeated marks of this kindness, without expressing myself to be what I certainly feel myself to be,

Your much obliged

And affectionate friend,

HENRY NORWICH.

P. S. Remember me cordially to Henry and my amiable grand-daughter.

London, October the 8th, 1835.

A trait of feeling—An expression of his wish that the whigs
might serve his eldest son.

My dear Henry,

* * * called upon me lately, and
his visit made me feel very uncomfortable.

When life was new,
And the *heart* promised what the *fancy* drew,

I used to consider him as one of my most cordial friends ; but the love of money, which “ poisons like a serpent’s tooth,” has so entirely altered his character, that not a feature remains of what he once was. Such in little minds is the consequence of *prosperity*. Very different is the effect of *adversity* : this “ tamer of the human breast” furnishes us with lessons which are rarely thrown away. Poor * * * * is a striking proof of this—she is now calm and humble. What is become of the children, I am totally at a loss to guess.

The whigs seem to be firmly established in power, and will, I hope, soon exert themselves, and place you in the situation you wish for and are entitled to.

Remember me very kindly to Fanny, not for-

getting my amiable young friend, her namesake.
I can write no more. Adieu !

Yours, &c. &c.

Most affectionately,

HENRY NORWICH.

London, September the 12th, 1835.

P.S. I am glad to hear so good an account
of poor William.

A wish, as in the last, for his eldest son's advancement—An
allusion to his eldest son's long-standing difference with
Mr. Coke.

My dear Henry,

Your uniformly affectionate conduct to-
wards me entitles you to expect every possible
exertion on my part to forward your professional
views ; and you shall not be disappointed in this
expectation.

With respect to the unfortunate disagreement
between you and my oldest and best friend, it
cannot but be as painful to *me* as it is to *you* ; but
I do not take upon myself to decide who is to
blame, having lived too long to expect much good
from interference.

James is a great comfort to me ; and, excepting

Fanny, no one can be more attentive to me than Kitty is : if therefore I do not feel content, the fault is all my own. Love to all.

Yours, &c.

Sincerely and affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, September the 24th, 1835.

To Mrs. H. Bathurst.

My dearest Fanny,

No one can be more entitled than you are to the most affectionate attention possible, because no one more uniformly or more cordially returns it. I rejoice to hear so favourable an account of Tryphena's health : that she may through life prove herself worthy of the kindness of her excellent mother is the heart-felt wish of

Yours, &c. &c.

Most cordially,

H. NORWICH.

London, October the 12th, 1835.

P. S. A little idle amusement in London will raise Henry's spirits.

Character of the present Earl Spencer.

My dear Henry,

“ In life’s last stage ” I derive very great comfort from my steady adherence to a principle which I laid down in early youth ; the principle, I mean, of reserving not less than a third part of my annual income, to answer those exigencies which in some shape or other are sure to occur. I notice this now, merely to set your heart at rest respecting the trifle you mention, which cannot be inconvenient to me.

No one can be more liberal and kind than Lord Spencer—not Patroclus * himself; the attachment to whom, evinced by the old bard’s hero, makes the latter more interesting than the “ pious Æneas ” of Virgil. Vanity being one of the numerous infirmities of old age, I will thank you to send me Mr. Lloyd’s pamphlet. Kind love to Fanny.

Yours, &c.

Sincerely and affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, November the 3rd, 1835.

* Πᾶσιν γὰρ ἐπίστατο μείλιχος εἶναι.

Alludes to his son's views in Ireland.

My dear Henry,

It will always give me pleasure to forward your views in any way to the utmost of my power. With respect to Lord * * * *, he seems very anxious that others should do what he ought to do himself, and can very easily do.

I shall be glad to see you when your visitation is over. Love to Fanny.

Yours, &c. &c.

Sincerely and affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, November the 25th, 1835.

Alludes to the vacancy of the see of Killaloe, and his son's claims.

My dear Henry,

Of my anxious wish to forward upon all occasions your views, it is not necessary for me to make any profession.* Lord Mulgrave has now an opportunity of offering you the vacant see in Ireland; and should he neglect the opportunity, he is inexcusable. With respect to any "communi-

* The Bishop means, that Lord Mulgrave, as a whig Lord Lieutenant, and as a friend to the popular cause in Ireland, ought not to forget the son of the only Bishop who had been so distinguished in Ireland's cause: but that son does not blame Lord Mulgrave, but Lord Melbourne.

cation directly or indirectly" with Lord Melbourne, it is, in my opinion, quite out of the question: should you be of a different opinion, your friend, Lord Albemarle, has my cordial leave to say how much I shall be gratified by the appointment. I can write no more. Love to your circle.

Yours, &c. affectionately,

H. NORWICH.

London, March the 31st, 1836.

CHAPTER V.

Refers to last chapter, and then gives sentiments expressed in a Charge of 1820, illustrative of the Bishop's general and professional views—Also an extract from a speech in 1823, and another in 1825, finally, conclusive of those public views which went down with him to the grave.

WITH reference to the letter at the conclusion of the last chapter, it must be observed that Lord Mulgrave was not to blame, but that Lord Melbourne's conduct was most extraordinary, and would be thought so, were all circumstances to be given; for the Bishop's wishes, though known before, were wholly neglected. The Bishop's application came too late to be made use of, (the vacancy in the Irish bench having been filled up so rapidly, as to make it impossible to employ it to any effect,) but it was afterwards delivered by Lord Holland to Lord Melbourne, with a view to show what the Bishop's wishes were. It is some consolation, however, to be able to assure the public, which Lord Melbourne will surely

excuse the editor for doing, that his Lordship admitted his sense of the Bishop's high deserts and claims, and also "the deserts of the Archdeacon," though he held out no hopes of serving him; and that his Lordship also declared, that he lost not a moment in assuring the Archdeacon that "he knew of no objections whatever affecting the Archdeacon's character," when his Lordship was pressed upon the subject, in consequence of the difficulty which his Lordship seemed to have of serving him.

Let us however turn from these painful matters to a more pleasing subject, and revert to a document which chronologically perhaps, it would appear, ought to have been inserted before, but which we have reserved for the last period of the Bishop's life, which we are now approaching, as composed in a spirit which gives the real colouring to his whole existence and character, although, alas! it is to be feared that the sentiments therein expressed involve feelings raised above the winds and clouds of this world's atmosphere, and such as may serve to amuse the hours of philosophic retirement, and to shed a ray of hope over desponding virtue, rather than such as are found to be assimilated with human life in general.

After a few introductory remarks, the Bishop declares his intention of speaking of the general

state of religion among us, which he considers to be on such an occasion the most appropriate of all discussions. He then proceeds :—

“ It is my earnest wish so to treat this important topic, as may best serve to impress upon my own mind, as well as upon yours, the indispensable obligation we are all of us under, to unite our exertions in support of that pure and undefiled Christianity, which our Divine Master came down from heaven to reveal to us, and which the ecclesiastical establishment of this country is, I firmly believe, eminently calculated to *propagate* and *preserve*.

“ A vague and melancholy description of the impiety and wickedness of the world is to be met with in the writings of the earliest authors, whose works have come down to us; and since the *Christian era*,—

Ætas parentum, pejor avis, tulit

Nos nequiores,—

is the querulous strain, which uniformly runs through the pages both of poets and historians, whether *sacred* or *profane*. With respect to the former, it certainly cannot be denied, that in every successive period of ecclesiastical annals some dangerous opinions have arisen, (and in a greater or less degree seem likely to arise,) which

have demanded, and will continue to demand, the utmost care and vigilance of those who are the appointed guardians of the sanctuary. Just however as this representation may in past days have been, there is, I think, much *less* cause for such a complaint in the present state of religion among us, than at any former period. If we take an impartial view of what is passing before our eyes, we may venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that there *now* exists in this country (notwithstanding some late occurrences) a more serious sense, and a more sincere conviction of the leading truths of Christianity, than is known in any other country or at any *other* time, even in our own. A more striking illustration of the truth of this remark cannot easily be imagined, than the increased attention which is paid to the many *benevolent* and *truly Christian institutions* which have for their object the *early religious instruction* of those who constitute the bulk of mankind: and this attention is paid alike by individuals of all ranks and of every *denomination* of Christians. Read the reports of the 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,' of the '*National*,' the '*Lancastrian*,' and '*Sunday Schools*.' Peruse attentively the printed accounts of the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,' of the 'Church Missionary Society,' and, above

all, of that most excellent of all human institutions, ‘The British and Foreign Bible Society;’—a careful examination of these highly interesting reports evinces beyond the possibility of doubt that the people of England, or at least the far greater part of them, have both understanding to perceive, and piety to feel, that revealed religion is not only the purest *source* of *individual happiness*, but that it is also the firmest *cement* of *civil government*: and they are, moreover, perfectly aware, that the latter can *never be so effectually supported, as by the unceasing* endeavours of the upper and middle ranks to alleviate not merely the *pecuniary* distresses of the lower orders, but to remove the greatest of *all* their wants—the want of early religious instruction and of *regular employment*; without which, they soon become restless and unhappy in themselves, and the burden and vexation of the community; of which they might be and are, when properly trained up, the firmest bulwark and support. As long as the more affluent and enlightened members of society thus think and thus act, we need not, I trust, be under much apprehension of danger from the ignorant and blasphemous publications of Carline: at all events, human prudence can prescribe no antidote to the poison of infidelity, half so powerful, as is administered by the meritorious

individuals, to whose activity we are principally indebted for the judicious management of those benevolent institutions; to the consideration of which I have attempted, as briefly as I could, to call your attention; and the present flourishing condition of which cannot fail to afford heart-felt satisfaction to every lover of his country and of mankind.

“There are,* I know, who tell us, and that too in language which sometimes breathes the spirit of a narrow *sectarian* jealousy, rather than of *universal Christian* benevolence, that societies instituted for the *INDISCRIMINATE* education of the *lower orders*, and for the *general* distribution of the Bible, afford just cause of alarm for the safety of the *established church*. I will not weary you by a tedious repetition of the various arguments, which have been made use of on both sides, in the course of a long-protracted and by far too violent a controversy; but I feel anxious, as (humanly speaking) it is not probable that at my advanced age I shall ever again address you in a *public* manner, to state as clearly as I can, in a few words, my *own* reasons for thinking, that institu-

* See ‘Dialogues and Letters, &c. and Observations on some of the causes of Dissent from the Church.’ London, 1819.

tions of this kind can never be too numerous or of too *comprehensive* a nature.

“ That the religious and moral character of the individual is in great measure formed by early education, and that this character may be rendered capable of promoting or of disturbing the comfort of private life and the welfare of the state, is a truth, of *which* no man acquainted in the smallest degree with the history of the world, or even with what occurs every day in his own neighbourhood, can entertain a moment’s doubt. It seems therefore very obvious, that both interest and duty should prompt the *upper* and *middle* ranks of the community to have a constant eye to the early *instruction* and the *regular employment* of the lower orders; and this duty is the same, under whatever DENOMINATION of Christians the parties concerned may happen to come. Indeed, an ingenious and well-informed modern writer* carries the matter so far as to assert, and not (I conceive) without reason, that no government hath a right to inflict *capital punishment* on ANY of its subjects, unless it have previously endeavoured to *instruct* them. In Scotland and in Switzerland there is a school in every parish; and the influence of this upon the character and conduct of

* See Montagu ‘ On the Punishment of Death.’

the inhabitants is universally acknowledged. In the year 1810 some of the first characters in the kingdom, with the approbation of His Majesty, then Prince Regent, instituted the *NATIONAL Society* for 'promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the established church;' a highly useful and generous design, and worthy of the encouragement and support which it receives, and will, I trust, never *cease* to receive : but may I be permitted to say, that highly useful, as it unquestionably is, it would (as it strikes me) have been still *more* useful, and would have had a better right to the title of *national*, had the object of it been more enlarged,—had it received with open arms the children of all who acknowledge the Bible as the standard of their faith and the rule of their practice ; of all who believe in the same Redeemer, and aspire to the same Heaven. There are men, and some of these, too, men of great learning and genuine piety, who seem to consider every attempt to co-operate, even in a good work, with persons of a religious persuasion different from their own, as injurious to our ecclesiastical establishment. Men of this description represent the *comprehensive* line of conduct, for which I contend, as proceeding either from a mistaken idea of *liberality*, or from a want of

'earnestness' in defence of 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' without sufficiently recollecting that this faith is (of course), in the opinion of every sincere man, the religious creed which he has himself adopted: in reply therefore to so uncandid an accusation, it is enough to say, that moderation, charity, and universal good-will are not only the most unequivocal marks of a *real Christian*, but that moreover they never yet hurt any one cause which was worth defending:—it is enough to say, that the great apostle of the Gentiles, who certainly understood the true nature and design of Christianity, at least as well as any intemperate zealot of our days, though ready even to die for his Divine Master, yet in matters not *essential* to revelation thought it advisable 'to become all things to all men:—it is enough to say, that it is not *difference* of opinion in religion which disturbs the peace and harmony of the world, but an *unyielding bigoted* attachment to our *own* ideas, and these ideas taken up but too frequently without any very serious examination. In addition to these reflections, we may venture to affirm, that whatever be 'man's judgment,' the time approaches when God will convince the world that the true welfare and prosperity of *his* church consist not so much in *uniformity* of

opinion, as in *union of heart*, and that revelation was graciously vouchsafed to man, ‘non disputandi causâ, sed ita vivendi.’

“For my own part, regardless of the imputation of *lukewarmness* in support of that ecclesiastical establishment to which I am very cordially attached, as I trust my life has proved, I will always most cheerfully give ‘the right hand of fellowship,’ and every other assistance in my power, to any pious Christian of *whatever description*, who is disposed to join with me in communicating the knowledge of the Bible and the advantages of religious education to those, to whom the Gospel was, under whatever *denomination* of Christians they may come, first preached, because it is an useful and truly Christian undertaking to do so; and because, by doing so, I am humbly endeavouring to enlarge the kingdom of our Redeemer upon earth;—an undertaking which if steadily carried into effect in every town and village of the united kingdom, there is nothing which we might not venture to hope from it. ‘Pass some few years,’ and it is hardly too much to anticipate an *entire change* in the moral world; it is hardly too much to say, (if we may judge from the good effects *already* produced in many different places in consequence of the attention paid to the early religious instruction of the poor,)

that by a *general, steady, well-regulated, and earnest* application of the *same* means, this happy island will become, and at no very distant period, a 'kingdom of righteousness,' bearing some faint resemblance to that heavenly city which the highly-favoured disciple of our Lord contemplated in a vision,—a city 'which had no need of the sun or of the moon to shine upon it; for the glory of God did lighten it: and the Lamb is the light thereof, and there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination or maketh a lie.'"

The Charge then proceeds to express the Bishop's conviction that the picture which he has drawn is not overcharged, though he admits that a cloud hangs over us from one quarter, which he explains to be the schism existing among the clergy, with respect to the abstruse doctrines of original sin, predestination, grace, free-will, and perseverance; and after some remarks upon this subject he proceeds to speak of the spirit of those who conducted the reformation. "These eminent divines were not less distinguished by that truly Christian spirit of lowliness and meekness which is recommended by our great Master, than they were by the extent and accuracy of their theological attainments:—'With the Scriptures,' says

Professor Hay in his admirable lectures, 'they were conversant in a degree of which few *now* have any conception. With *sacred* history, both of facts and of opinions, they were minutely acquainted; and yet they were not mere *scholars* and *monks*, but knowing *men* and *manners*: they were also free from all fanaticism, remarkably *prudent*, and entirely devoid of *controversial acrimony*. Of their moderation, indeed, a more satisfactory proof cannot possibly be adduced, than that which an attentive perusal of our articles, our homilies, and our liturgy affords. These formularies are framed, and particularly the articles, in such large and general terms, as most clearly demonstrate that our Church did not design *to tie men up too severely to peculiar* opinions.' I use the expressions of Burnet. A still greater authority, the late Bishop Horsley, goes further, asserting in one of his charges, that upon all the points of doctrine which are characteristic of the two parties, the Church of England maintains an absolute neutrality. This is, I believe, acknowledged in great measure now by the generality of moderate, impartial, and well-informed men, and in my own judgment no position can well be more incontrovertible: it seems therefore no easy matter *completely* to justify those, whatever their own sentiments may be respecting the points in

question, who at *this time* claim the privilege of interpreting our articles in an EXCLUSIVE sense, and presume, without any authority, to *confine* what was intended to be *left open*. Should then any individual of the present day, from an overweening fondness for his *own* conceits, feel disposed to be *positive* and *unyielding*, I would advise him to recollect for a moment that many of the best, the most learned, and the wisest men who perhaps ever existed, are numbered in the lists on *both* sides. ‘*Magno se judice quæque tuetur.*’ If this recollection do not teach him a lesson of *humility*, I am at a loss to know what can; not that I am chimerical enough to expect a perfect *uniformity* of opinion upon subjects of such a nature; nor is this uniformity of very material consequence, as long as *charity* and *forbearance* prevail among us: but unfortunately they do *not* prevail, at least not in the degree which every friend to our ecclesiastical establishment must cordially *wish* that they did. On the present occasion, therefore, I feel myself called upon to address both Calvinists and Anti-Calvinists, in the words of an early Latin Father:—“*Illud saltem, quovis judice, impetrare me a vobis oportet, ut in utràque parte omnis arrogantia deponatur, et nemo nostrum dicat se invenisse veritatem, sed ita eam quæramus, quasi ab utrisque nesciatur; sic enim*

diligenter et *concorditer* quæri potest, si nulla temerariâ præsuntione inventa, et cognita esse credatur.’ A want of attention to this very sensible advice hath always been, and is now, the principal cause of that disunion among the clergy, which cannot but be as dangerous to the Church of England as it has invariably proved to all other churches in the Christian world. Using therefore that ‘freedom of speech’ which my age and my situation, and the sincere wishes of my heart for the welfare of both parties in some measure *justify*,—and if they did not, your *kindness* I am sure would *pardon*,—I shall take the liberty of addressing myself to *both*, with the same impartial frankness. In the first place, I would remind the *Calvinist* that *union* among those to whom the people are in the habit of looking up for religious instruction being so necessary, that without it the leading purposes of a religious society cannot well be effected, it is his duty to avoid as much as possible every thing which has even the *appearance* of SCHISM: it is also his duty to be particularly cautious, never, either in word or deed, to lessen the estimation of his far more numerous, and I trust equally conscientious ministerial brethren among their *respective flocks*; and, above all, never upon any account to assume to himself a *title* which belongs equally to us *all*: but to remember, that

the *plain, rational, persuasive* discourses of our blessed Lord are handed down to us by the evangelists, as affording an *exemplar* of true *Gospel preaching*, which we shall do well to copy: and particularly I would exhort him never to forget that our Divine Master did not come down from Heaven to inflame our *imaginations*, or to puzzle our *understandings* with *abstruse questions* and *speculative dogmas*, but to warm our hearts with a love of Him and of one another. In the *general* course of our preaching it seems therefore advisable to represent the Gospel to our audience as a religion in which all things *necessary* to be believed or done are delivered with such clearness that the ‘way-faring men, though fools, shall not err therein;’ as a religion which consists principally in *purity of heart*, in *morality*, in *goodness*, in *righteousness*, in the *love of God* and of *mankind*;—‘as a religion in which charity takes the upper hand even of faith, of hope, and of knowledge.’ I am perfectly aware that a Christian hath something to *believe* as well as to *do*; nor is it my design to exclude *entirely* from the pulpit the *mysterious doctrines* of our Holy Faith; let them be *occasionally* introduced—let them be *briefly* stated and *intelligibly* explained, as far, I mean, as their nature *admits* of explanation: but still the *great* business of a minister of the Gospel is to enlarge

the kingdom of God, by turning men from sin unto righteousness. The great business, I say, of the stewards of the mysteries of our Lord Jesus Christ is to prepare and make ready his way, by turning the hearts of the disobedient to the wisdom of the just, that at His *second* coming we may be found an acceptable people in His sight. To the *Anti-Calvinist*, whose opinions coincide with my own, I would notwithstanding say in the words of St. Paul, ‘Who art thou that judgest another man’s servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth.’ Who art thou that imputest to a brother principles, which in the *imputed* sense he disclaims; and *consequences*, resulting from those principles which he *doth adopt*; which *consequences* he doth not acknowledge and doth not see? Are we, *any* of us, sufficiently acquainted with the *bias* which a fellow-Christian may have acquired from the prejudices of early *education*, from natural *disposition*, from the course of his *studies*, and from those *innumerable minute circumstances* which commonly set at work the first springs of human opinions? Are *we*, I say, sufficiently acquainted with these matters to pass judgment upon others? Certainly not. In this imperfect state of ignorance and of passion, the best of us are ill qualified for so difficult an office; and were we *better* qualified, it is an office which belongs *solely* to Him who is

the supreme judge and lawgiver in His Church. Above all, I would say to *both parties*, ‘ Let every man prove his own work ; ’ an injunction which demands the attention of every one of us, on account of the high authority from which it proceeds, and also on account of the piety and the sound good common sense contained in it. I have only further to observe, that it does not become a *sinful* and *fallible* creature, whose business it is to prepare himself for *his own final judgment*, to lose his time in judging his brethren. The hour approaches, and to some of us is near at hand, when we shall learn that the kingdom of Heaven consisteth not in a fond predilection on *either side* for certain *phrases* or *forms*, but in the regulation of the *heart* and of the *affections*, in cultivating Christian *love* with *all mankind*, and in preserving undisturbed that humble frame of mind which prompts those who really feel its influence, to give up, as far as they can without a compromise of ESSENTIAL principles, their own *opinions*, *humours*, and *interest*, for the sake of the common peace, welfare, and happiness of the whole.”

The above charge is the most perfect transcript that could be given of its author’s views of religion, and, it may be added, of social life : a decided adherence to his own views evidently has

been seen up to this late, as it prevailed to the last, moment of his life ; but his mind seems never to have lost sight of that maxim of Socrates, that “ a man is never truly wise till he is sensible that he knows nothing ;” and that self-conceit is commonly the parent of petulance and error. It cannot be supposed, however, that he ever intended to preach up that indifference to truth, which it certainly will have been plain he did not practise. Charity and humility, the deep foundations of Christian virtue, and a disposition to allow for human nature, and to bear and forbear as far as circumstances can justify, is all that he intended to enforce ; and if a false pride did not hinder men from acknowledging themselves to be wrong, oftentimes when they admit it to their own minds, those lessons of humility and charity would, both by the oppressor and the oppressed, the offender and the offended, be more frequently practised.

Approaching as we now are to the end of the Bishop's life, the reader will, it is hoped, not think this part overcharged, by giving an extract also from a very strong speech made in the House of Lords, July 9th, 1823, by this prelate, who from first to last retained the same earnestness in the cause of civil and religious liberty which he had espoused : the language is very strong, and

the allusions very interesting; and it will have been seen that the same strong sentiments were constant in his mind to the end.

“It will never, I imagine, be contended, that at a time when every other art and science is improving, the science of legislation alone, the most valuable of any, should remain stationary, instead of keeping pace with the universal improvement around us. This, my Lords, can never be. ‘Every thing human,’ says Mr. Burke, with his usual energy and good sense, ‘must yield to the great law of change—the most powerful and the most uncontrollable of all nature’s laws.’ This senseless cry of ‘No INNOVATION,’ as far as it relates to the present question, has lately succeeded to the more noisy and wicked cry of ‘No Popery.’ Happily for the peace of society, the days are past when those idle and mischievous clamours would have excited discontent and turbulence—they are now become perfectly harmless and ineffectual: owing to the advantages derived from a more *general* education, there are very few in the *middle* ranks of life, and not many even in the *lowest*, who do not perfectly understand that we are indebted for some of the choicest blessings which we enjoy, to this so much dreaded *innovation*; who do not

know that the *revolution* was in some respects an *innovation*, and that Christianity itself was a glorious innovation.

“ The historian of the Roman empire informs us, that towards the close of the fourth century a celebrated heathen high-priest, in an oration delivered before the Emperor Valentinian, very anxiously entreated that prince not upon any account to allow the *Gospel* to be preached in Rome, because of the danger inseparable from *innovation*. In the progress of his harangue, the orator, with great animation, personified the imperial city, and introduced her in the form of a sacerdotal petitioner, humbly supplicating the Emperor in the following striking manner: ‘ Reverence, Sir, I beseech you, my old age; reverence my old religious institutions: these rites drove Annibal from my walls, and the Gauls from my citadel; disturb not, I implore you, the repose of my declining life, by the introduction of any *innovation*; suffer me to retain the undisturbed possession of a religion under which I have flourished for so many years.’ Your Lordships will, I believe, agree with me in thinking, that the reasoning of the heathen high-priest, as far as regards *innovation* merely, is full as conclusive as that of the *Christian high churchman* of the present day, who is alarmed at the bare

mention of any alteration either in Church or State, though obviously rendered necessary by a change of *times* and of circumstances,—and his eloquence is certainly full as impressive. It must however be admitted, that both parties seem equally to have forgotten, that a blind, doting, obstinate adherence to old establishments, whether ecclesiastical or civil, regardless of every proposed reform however advisable, is as weak in itself, and as dangerous in its consequences, as an impatient, restless, childish love of change; and that there is a very wide difference between that which was at first established because it was right, and that which is now right, *only* because it is established. Within a short period of time, a remarkable change of public opinion has taken place, both at home and abroad, upon the interesting subject of religious as well as of civil liberty: at home, whatever might have been the case only a few years since, we may venture to assert, without fear of well-grounded contradiction, that a very large majority of the *lay members* of the established church are decidedly in favour of Catholic emancipation. If it be *not* so, why are there no *county petitioners* against this measure? why no petition from the City of London—none from *Westminster*—none from Southwark? none, or not more than one or two,

from any of our numerous flourishing and populous commercial towns?—And with respect to the great and well-informed body of *Protestant Dissenters*, they have, highly to their honour, declared in the most unequivocal terms that ‘they are agreed, both ministers and laymen, in wishing for a total abolition of all *penalties, disabilities, and restrictions whatsoever* in the province of religion.’ *

“ Abroad, if we turn our eyes to the Continent, we shall find that in *Russia*, in Prussia, and I believe in *Austria*, *Jews* are admitted to those civil privileges, from which, with infatuated blindness, we exclude our fellow-Christians; and in France, I have never heard of a single petition from the CATHOLIC CLERGY against the admission of Protestants to any *civil* situations of *honour*, of *trust*, or of *emolument* whatsoever. It cannot then but be a subject of deep regret, to every real friend of our ecclesiastical establishment, to be reduced to the necessity of allowing that the clergy of the united Church of England and Ireland are almost, if not altogether, the only body of men in Europe who in the nineteenth century openly espouse the cause of intolerance and of persecution; for persecution I will never cease to call our treatment

* See the preface of a Sermon by Dr. Abraham Rees, preached in the year 1817, in the Old Jewry Chapel.

of the Catholics—‘*dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.*’

“ I should be sorry to give offence to any one by this uncompromising avowal of my sentiments ; but there are occasions when it is the duty of every individual in a free government like ours to speak plainly out, and the present appears to me to be one of these occasions : otherwise, my Lords, there is very little *internal satisfaction*, as I know but too well by sad experience, and there is most assuredly no *external worldly* advantage to induce a clergyman of the *established church* to think differently, upon so important a subject as that now before the house, from many wise and good men of his own profession,—from men especially, with some of whom have been passed with cordial friendship those unreturning days of early life, to which we all look back with a feeling of peculiar delight : and if it be painful even to think differently from such men, how much more painful must it be to incur, as will probably be my fate, the imputation of *arrogance* in presuming to censure better men than myself, or of folly, in appearing to advise wiser men ? To avoid, as much as possible, imputations so very unpleasant, I shall conclude the little which I have further to say, in the words of one of the most learned, the most pious, the most judicious, and the most practically wise prelate who per-

haps ever sat upon the bench of Bishops,—a prelate who had the distinguished and enviable honour of being the personal friend of that enlightened, tolerant, and magnanimous prince, William III., and who, jointly with Archbishop Tillotson, was his counsellor in all ecclesiastical matters;—I allude, my Lords, to Bishop Burnet, the great object of whose long and useful life was to promote a prudent, just, and generous comprehension of *loyal civil subjects*, upon the ground *solely* of their tried *civil allegiance* and fidelity, without any reference to their religious opinions: upon the same firm ground, I now claim for the CATHOLICS of our days a similar comprehension, and for the same unanswerable reason, namely, their unimpeached and unimpeachable civil allegiance and fidelity; which give them a right, I will not say to *demand*, but certainly to *expect* a speedy repeal of those exclusive, partial, and unjust penal statutes of which they complain, and complain with so much reason; because it is universally acknowledged, that there are not in the united kingdom any men more cordially attached to their King and to the civil constitution of their country, than His Majesty's Catholic subjects. It can hardly be necessary to add, that with their INNOCENT SPECULATIVE *opinions* in *religion*, the STATE has no concern whatever.

“The following is the passage in Bishop Bur-

net's writings, to which I alluded, and with which I promised to conclude :—

“ ‘ Many opportunities,’ observes this eminent divine and statesman, ‘ have been lost, since the reformation, of healing our breaches ; but if we again repeat our former errors, and let the present opportunity slip from us,—if the Church of England will hearken to the peevishness of a few sour and narrow-minded men, she will set both heaven and earth against her ; for the wise and generous behaviour of Dissenters’ (and I am now fully justified in applying these expressions to Catholic as well as to Protestant Dissenters) ‘ is such as entitles them to our friendship, and to every favour which we can possibly show them.’ ”

In the year 1825 the Bishop expressed the following sentiments in accordance with those just given :

“ If it could be proved—but I think it never will—that the worldly advantage of any particular ecclesiastical establishment of Christianity cannot be maintained without an obvious violation, on the part of its members, of the leading principles of the Christian religion ; such, for instance, as that most excellent precept, to ‘ do unto others, in all cases, as we would they should do unto us ;’ and that ‘ new commandment, to love one another’ — new both in degree and in extent,

which our Divine Master bequeathed to his followers, as his last and best legacy ;—if, I say, even the Church of England cannot stand, unless its members be called upon to act in direct opposition to those distinguished precepts of our holy religion, I, for one, should say, without the smallest hesitation, let it fall ; for, my Lords, it must never be forgotten, that an ecclesiastical establishment is no part of Christianity, but the mode only of propagating its doctrines, as has been accurately and justly remarked by Archdeacon Paley. It seems, then, to follow, as a legitimate consequence, that the outward building, the mere fabric of the temple, would hardly be worth preserving, if that charity, which is the guardian angel of the inner temple, had taken its flight, and ‘the glory was departed.’ * * * *

“ These, my Lords, are my genuine sentiments ; they have been the same for more than half a century, and I am now much too old to change them. I dare not, however, rashly say, as has been said, that whatever alteration of circumstances may occur in this ever-shifting scene of human life, these sentiments will remain unaltered ; but I will say, that reflecting seriously upon what has passed and is still passing before my eyes, there is very little probability of my thinking differently from what I now do.

“ With respect to the political part of the sub-

ject now under your Lordships' consideration, it is not in my province; and if it were, I should be unwilling to weary your Lordships' attention by a repetition of those unanswered and unanswerable arguments which have been so often urged in behalf of the Catholics, by many of the best and wisest men of the age in which we live: I must, notwithstanding, venture to observe, that your Lordships have once more an opportunity of doing tardy justice to a large portion of his Majesty's subjects,—an opportunity which, if neglected, is likely to be followed, and at no very distant period, by events which neither the wisdom nor the power of government may be able to controul."

Sentiments congenial to the above continued to be the sentiments of him, who expressed himself as above, to the end of life. That events of an alarming kind have followed the long neglect of the claims here advocated, experience has proved: but many will say that these events would have only happened sooner, had these claims been sooner conceded; and that "as the Protestant religion was established in Ireland by the sword, so it must be maintained by the sword;"—by which the noble Duke, who said this, must merely be supposed to intimate, that as the Protestant religion in Ireland could not have been established except by the power of England, so the

power of England must, if that establishment is to be maintained, still uphold it.

But this view of the subject is at variance with the Bishop's supposition that the religious can be separated from the political question. In fact, the question is wholly political; for there can be no question in the abstract, whether so great a proportion of the population of a country ought not to have a religion established in accordance with their own views. But circumstances have made the question complex; and Protestant and Englishman, or friend of England, have almost become synonymous; and the long period during which the Protestant party have faithfully stood by England, give them a claim upon our honour for protection, which, if the Roman Catholic Church were established, and the power thereof fortified by further civil advantages, it might be impossible for England to give. It also must now, since the concession of the Catholic Relief Bill, be considered as an admitted compromise on the part of the Roman Catholics, that the grievance of a Protestant establishment should be borne without murmuring; and if the Catholics repent their bargain, they ought to put us "in statu quo ante bellum," because otherwise they will have fraudfully gained an advantage, whereby they might compel us, by establishing their religion, to pave

the way for endless disputes in England, (whenever Dissenters should claim the majority,) whether the church established in England ought to continue,—which church, were it to fall, must involve in its fall the fall of the civil government; for no one will pretend that religious opinions, as such, are to be maintained by the sword, but it may become a question whether institutions bound up with the civil government ought to be yielded without resistance. But if it can be shown that the Protestant church in Ireland will not be injured by further concessions, there can then be no doubt that in equity, though not according to bargain strictly, such concessions ought to be made.

After the summer of 1836 the Bishop wrote very little, and his family did not like to trouble him, as he grew very weak.

The following is an extract from one of the latest letters of any importance received by the Archdeacon: the Bishop from this time gradually became so weak, that none of his family liked to trouble him to write; and the last specimens which the Archdeacon has of the Bishop's handwriting are the two following:—

November 6th, 1836.

My dear Henry,

In my present weak state writing is so painful an effort to me, that you will, I am sure, very readily allow me to say in a few words, that

nothing whatever on my part shall be wanting to promote your interest. * * * * *

To Mrs. Thistlethwayte.

Dearest Tiny,

My little glass is run, or nearly so: as long, however, as a single grain lingers in it, I will not cease to assure you that your uniformly kind attention has contributed more than any other circumstance to diffuse a cheerful ray over my setting sun. * * *

Remember me very kindly to T., and thank him for the partridges.

Yours, &c. cordially,

H. N.

London, September 11th, 1836.

CHAPTER VI.

Concluding passages of existence—1837.

FROM this period to the day of his dissolution the weakness of the worthy prelate's body daily became more evident: his mind also evidently lost its former vigour and compass: his habits, which through life had been uncommonly tidy, and his personal neatness particularly observable, gave way; nor would any hints from his excellent son, the General, as to the personal care which his extreme age and infirmities required, be of any service. He would almost to the last not allow any one to dress or undress him; and the independence of his mind and habits seemed, united with an extreme delicacy, quite to amount to obstinacy:—and when the General would mention any little matter as to personal habits which required attention during the last year, he would say,—“No one likes to be reminded of their infirmities;” and

yet when brought to bear on any single point, his mind seemed clear, and his memory would break out afresh. He took great pleasure in Mrs. H. Bathurst's society (the Archdeacon's wife), and would mind her more than most of those about him; for her manners, being gentle and persuasive, suited him; he had also a very high opinion of her judgment and disposition, but he would let no one interfere in any material thing, so as to give him any personal assistance. A few weeks before his death Mrs. H. B. went to him, and remained with him to the last. The General thought of going back to his own house, it being uncertain how long his father might last; and feeling, while Mrs. H. B. was with him, that his presence was less necessary: but the Bishop said, "You had better remain; I will pay the additional expense which you must be at for house-hire for your family;"—so much did he wish the General, who had become necessary to him from his long attendance, to remain with him: he added, "It will only be a few weeks more," evidently feeling that nature was fast decaying. At length on the 25th of March the Archdeacon, who could not leave his parochial duties so as to be with his father near so much as his brother, received an account from his wife, who was with his father,

that his father's life was on the eve of closing. The accounts received through the past week had indeed been unsatisfactory, but the Archdeacon wished to remain, if possible, over Easter Sunday in his parish. On Easter Eve, however, he left Norfolk in the mail, and arrived on the Sunday morning at Hereford Street. The good aged man appeared much roused at seeing him, even to cheerfulness: he shook hands two or three times with him, and said, "I am glad to see you—I am marching off." The Archdeacon said little, but knelt down by his bed-side, and requested him to give him his blessing: he answered, "I do with all my heart." The Archdeacon proposed to administer the sacrament to him; but he appeared unwilling to be further at that moment disturbed: he expressed that his mind was fully prepared—that he had done the best he could to perform his duties in life. This solemnity was therefore pressed no further at that time, especially as it appeared that death, though near, was not very near or any thing like immediate. He continued in this state, in pain above the abdomen more or less, till the Saturday morning, the 1st of April, quite resigned, but evidently desirous of his end; for he once said to the apothecary, "Will it be long?" Through the attention and directions of

Mrs. H. B. in particular, he that morning had been refreshed with having his bed made, &c., and expressed himself to feel more comfortable than he had felt for some days; during which he had been unwilling to be disturbed in the least degree, if possible, even for the most necessary purposes. Seeing him revive and become quite collected, the Archdeacon went to his bed-side again, and said, "Let me suggest again to you to receive the sacrament:" the Archdeacon added, "It was the last injunction of our blessed Lord, whose wish I know you are desirous to comply with, as I shall be with any wish of yours when you are gone." The Bishop signified his acquiescence; and he sent for Mrs. H. B., who had gone up stairs: and he said when she came down, "God bless you!" (taking both her hands and enclosing them in his,) "I thank you for all your attention and kindness—I have loved you as one of my own daughters." Mrs. Thistlethwayte, who had been up, as well as Mrs. H. Bathurst, a large part of the night, was gone to bed; the Archdeacon therefore confined the administration of the sacrament to his father, himself, his brother, and his wife; and having consecrated the elements, and received them himself, he went up to his father's bed-side, and prefaced this last religious act with this short exhortation:—"Take this in remembrance of

Him who died for us, and gave Himself for us, and through whose power we hope to meet again." He received the elements with clasped hands and quiet spirit. The Archdeacon knelt down and prayed by him, as did the General, who showed himself as good a divine as he is an excellent soldier. The General asked him more than once, "Do you not believe that we shall meet again, and know each other again in another world?" The Bishop said, "I do; and if I did not feel so, I think I could not be happy." In the afternoon of this day, April 1st, the pain returned: on the Monday the General sent for Sir Benjamin Brodie, seeing that the bladder was painful. Sir Benjamin said, all that can be done is to alleviate and smooth the way to death, which so fast approaches: he administered some medicine accordingly, which seemed to sooth the pain; a quiet and lethargic state succeeded, interrupted only now and then with expressions of pain, not of any consequence; and his patient continued in this state till Wednesday night, about half-past ten o'clock, when the Archdeacon perceived that his breathing became fainter and fainter, his hands stiff, and his legs and feet cold; his eye sunk and closed, with now and then a slight hiccough: he knelt down at the side of his bed, and said the Commendatory Prayer of the Church for a person

on the point of departure; he then rose—he leaned over his father's face—Nature gradually yielded; and without a sigh or struggle the spirit of his father silently departed for a better world, so softly that the Archdeacon was obliged to move his ear close to his lips, to be sensible that breathing had entirely ceased: he kissed him—he did not weep, for his mind was fully prepared; he looked at his brother and sister, Mrs. Thistlethwayte, who (i. e. Mrs. T.) went up stairs, to give way to her feelings;—all else was tranquil and composed. The Archdeacon shook the General by the hand, and reminded him how comfortable it had been to him the Archdeacon, and how much more it must be to himself, that he had the privilege of being so near to their father for so long a time past, and that his services had been so acceptable to him when he would hardly let any other person approach to give him assistance. Mrs. Bathurst was also present at this last affecting scene.

Thus departed this life, in the ninety-third year of his age, Dr. Henry Bathurst, having been for thirty-two years of this period bishop of Norwich.

During his last ailments Sir Henry Halford attended him in the most friendly manner; and when one morning he asked his patient's blessing, the Bishop put his hand on his head, and gave it

him ; adding, “ when you come to your latter end, I only wish you may be as ready to depart “ and as comfortable as I am ; ” and indeed he might have also said, in the language of his favourite classic, “ *Ità sensim sine sensu ætas senescit, nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate extinguitur.* ”

Having at different times and various occasions advanced sums for the necessities and convenience of his eldest son, and also of the General and Mrs. Mahon, to the extent of £5000, the utmost he could ever hope to see realised to each of his children, he merely took care in his will to provide that Mrs. Thistlethwayte should have her share; which she had never encroached upon ; and that £3500 remaining, not broken in upon by his deceased son Robert, should be secured to his son Robert's children in trust ; and somewhat more than £4000 to Mrs. De Crepigny, for herself and children, in trust also, being the sum remaining in equity due to her after deducting some hundred pounds which had been advanced. To Viscountess Stuart, the only surviving representative of the Bishop's son Benjamin, a legacy is bequeathed of £1000, together with whatever may remain, not exceeding £4000 more, (previous legacies being first discharged,) to make her equal with her uncles and aunts, if funds shall ever prove sufficient ; which perhaps may never be ;

and certainly never till his poor son Coote,* who is confined, shall be dead; to whose use £3000 is appropriated; which, together with £2000 in exchequer bills, near £10,000 from the Equitable Assurance Office (the product of £2500, originally insured, to supply the place of that sum sunk in going first to Durham), and about £4000 in hand; with perhaps £1500 or £1800 worth of goods and chattels, constitute all that the good man has left to a family,—none of them, except Mrs. Mahon and Mrs. Thistlethwayte, in very easy circumstances: his eldest son, from unfortunate events and the expense of a large family, without private fortune, except advances from the Bishop to buy his son's commission and other necessities before alluded to; and the widow of his brother Robert, and his children, in circumstances far beneath their just expectations and merits; and poor Mrs. De Crepigny with means wholly inadequate to supply her reasonable wants.

A memorandum was left previous to the date of the Bishop's will, leaving some chessmen to Lord Bathurst; the Catholic petition, framed in a table, to Mr. Coke; and a ring to the Duke of Sussex: all of which, however, had been, previously to his death, given to the parties; as well

* Since dead.

as a ring left with the Bishop of Derry for Earl Grey, to be given after his death, as a memorial of his gratitude for the justice done to his son the General, and of his conviction of the good-will Lord Grey bore towards him and his family, (though, as to the Archdeacon, this good-will was but poorly shown): but the Bishop was much pleased, so far as Lord Grey had made amends for Lord Melbourne's strange neglect of the General, and also by the showy though unproductive offer of the archbishopric of Dublin.

In the above memorandum it was also desired, that the Earl of Albemarle should have a copy of the portrait of the Bishop in the Archdeacon's possession, painted by Hayter; and the executors have provided that this wish should be complied with, for no one deserved the compliment so well.

In another memorandum, the Bishop expressed a wish that his compositions, except his sons chose to keep his sermons, one on a mutual recognition in a future state, and another on regeneration, might be burnt: he added, that he did not think any other was worth preserving: he also added these words, in conformity to the wish expressed in the epitaph which he composed for his wife, "I wish to be buried in the abbey at Malvern, near my dearest wife, whose memory I

“ request my children to cherish, as I hope to do.
“ I desire that my burial may be attended with
“ as little expense as possible.”

It may be said, as the author of the life of Melancthon says of that great man, whom the Bishop in many points resembled: “ He gently
“ breathed his last: no distractions of mind, no
“ foreboding terror of conscience agitated this
“ attractive scene; his chamber was privileged
“ beyond the common walks of virtuous life, quite
“ on the verge of Heaven, and he expired like a
“ wave scarcely curling to the evening zephyr
“ of an unclouded sky, and gently rippling to
“ the shore: it was a departure, a sleep,—the
“ earthly house of this tabernacle was dissolved.”

And we may add, as we trust a review of character will show fully: “ Surely such a pious
“ and tranquil removal from a toilsome and afflictive life ought to be a subject of joy rather
“ than lamentation; and each of us should entreat
“ God, that in possession of a similar peace of
“ conscience, firm faith, and acknowledgment of
“ the truth, and ardent devotion of mind, he
“ would conduct us from our present imprisonment to his eternal presence.”

CHAPTER VII.

Introductory Remarks:—1. to anecdotes illustrative of past life—2. professional pursuits and ideas—3. to a general view of life and character of deceased, with some explanations, and additional circumstances affording those explanations.

“To form a true estimate of human character, we must set one thing against another, and afterwards pronounce, if we can, on which side the balance turns.” With the generality of characters, every age of human life has vices as well as virtues, which are almost peculiar to itself. “The decay of our minds is not like that of our persons, uniform and general; for here the grace which one feature loses, is frequently transferred to another: single parts may grow deformed or disproportioned, while the sum of beauty continues the same through the whole period of our existence.” These are reflections of two distinguished writers; and where these features of character prevail, there is something, though beautiful as to the order of

nature, yet so monotonous and bearing so close a resemblance to what we see and hear every day, that characters not rising above the ordinary standard of balanced qualities, and changes melting into each other like the successive periods of day and night, it would be impertinent to select as marks for the public attention : but where a vigorous, bold, and consistent principle, or at least where so consistent as to admit of the most trifling abatement, is seen through a long life, amid scenes unfavourable to its development, to operate, and at last to be placed in circumstances, even though late in life, which do work a full developement, and under an aspect where private feelings and obligations seem to run, or as if they ought evidently to run, counter to such developement, such a character becomes an object of no common interest. The great principles of human conduct seem deeply implicated in the result ; and the bearing of a line of conduct which forms such a character, whether satisfactory or otherwise, whether attended with results practically desirable or theoretically sound, becomes a question at least as interesting as any question ever agitated in the porch of Zeno, the gardens of Epicurus, or the academy of Plato ; and more especially as Christianity has laid down a law of love, which seems to supersede the com-

mon obligations of life so far, that we are even to leave father and mother, and wife and children, for the kingdom of Heaven's sake ; in other words, that we are to act upon the great precepts of universal charity, even though they may cause some abatement of particular and more selfish affections,—a characteristic which as it alone can form a perfect Christian, so alone it can entitle a human character to the reputation of being great.

Having premised thus much, the editor proceeds to give some further anecdotes and sketches, which may (even as a nearer and more familiar approach to a great town, to which a great character has been likened) give us a more complete conception of the man, accompanying the same with observations such as may arise ; and then an endeavour will be made in the last chapter to take a general review of all that has been and will then have been brought together, not omitting any addition or abatement which may be just and proper, and so to collect how far the standard of just eminence, and even greatness, in the character concerned may seem peculiarly applicable, and involving the approbation or otherwise of mankind. It is not sufficient to see such a picture as that of the morning or the evening of the Roman empire by Claude, in a

single though most effective light: it is pleasant to examine it from different points of view, to dwell on particular parts, before we give our collective verdict. It is not the freshness of the early breeze on Tyber's wave alone in the former, nor the glow of the evening sky in the latter, which claims our admiration—the eye is scarcely so satiated, or the heart satisfied; as the editor well remembers, above thirty years ago, when he went with the late Sir Thomas Clarges to the Earl of Radnor's, near Salisbury, to see those masterpieces of the painter's art, and when after having actually left the house, and proceeded entirely out of the grounds, Sir Thomas Clarges, who was an enthusiast in the art, would go back and have another look.

It is not proposed to observe in this chapter any regular order, but to give anecdotes and illustrations of life, opinions, and character, as they have occurred to recollection or been noted from time to time.

CHAPTER VIII.

Anecdotes, &c.

1. DR. LAW, when Bishop of Chester, (afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells,) declined ordaining Mr. Blackburne and Mr. Wilson, on the score of their Calvinistic interpretation of the Articles : the Bishop of Norwich was willing to ordain them. The question was referred to the Archbishop, at a meeting of himself and the two Bishops at issue, in the chamber at Lambeth, hung round with the portraits of different Archbishops : an appeal was instantly made by the Bishop of Norwich to the different opinions of different primates themselves, commencing with Archbishop Ussher ; and indeed when we recollect the disputes of the Bishops on the trial of Queen Caroline, relating to divorce, (Mark x. 11. Luke xvi. 18. and Matthew xviii. 19.) it does seem inconsistent that latitude of interpretation should be refused on doctrinal and dark points, when what to the generality of

mankind appears pretty clear, has been so disputed about. And is not the general result calculated to impress mankind, that they who preach a kingdom which is not of this world, are often too much disposed to lean to the side of power? and do not they who are so intolerant in points where reasonable difference of opinion may surely exist, and yet in plainer and more practical points admit of largest interpretation,—do not they, rather than such an one as the Bishop of Norwich, tend to suggest to uncandid interpreters that cruel and unjust sneer of Mr. Gibbon, “that the precept of Christ is flexible to any interpretation that the wisdom of the legislation can demand?”—Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, p. 66. vol. viii. octavo.

2. Lord Grenville, when the Catholic question was first agitated, upon that occasion when the Bishop of Norwich took his part, said, “Do not let considerations of having committed yourself to me, weigh with you: the pamphlet which you have written and addressed to me (and which his Lordship induced him from prudent motives not to publish) shall be a communication resting in my own breast. Consult the interests of your family, and do not run the risk of a breach with Lord Bathurst: you will not forfeit my esteem or good opinion.”

But, "This," said Fabius, when his son, being consul, ordered his father to alight,—“this was the way by which our forefathers have advanced the dignity of the commonwealth, in preferring that to our fathers and our children:” and a sentiment like this seems to have wrought upon this excellent prelate’s mind, which was so deeply imbued with classical literature; and every view which he took of human nature was equally free from selfishness, for he always contended for the reciprocity of all duty between husband and wife, parent and child, as well as governor and governed, and was truly “a whig at home,” or rather a real liberal, which is a more modern term and better adapted to his character; for the writer of these pages considers him as always favourable to a monarchy mitigated by the privileges of the aristocracy and the rights of the people: and if virtue be the distinction of a republic, charity which is more tolerant to human failings, and not so prying into every fault, does certainly seem more characteristic of a monarchy justly balanced, as it is a form of government wherein all parties to be comfortable must give and take, and make some allowance for each other.

The great Dr. Balguy (Discourse 1.) has observed, that it is *not* virtue to comply with men’s

humours in opposition to their interests, or to promote the interest of those we love, by actions destructive of the whole community; and that benevolence under all *circumstances* and of every kind is not entitled to the name of virtue. If strictly, therefore, this distinguished prelate performed the duties of general kindness and affection to those who had the nearest claim upon him, and yet preferred the interests (which he deemed to be such) of society at large, when interfering with those of his own immediate family, he most undoubtedly is entitled to the character of a man of great public virtue, without detracting from his merits as a private individual.

3. The doctrine of the independency of the Church of the state, it must be confessed, the Bishop of Norwich maintained to a degree which would appear to imply, that while government had a right and duty to superintend in all other matters the welfare of a community, it is exempt from any care of that which cements the whole, and forms the general moral security of all established order,—namely, the doctrines which are taught, and the feelings which are impressed on mankind. Bishop Warburton's doctrine, "the wider the basis of a national Church is, the juster such an establishment must be," seems to contain a truth more adapted to real life, and

which will leave ample room for the exercise of an enlarged liberality. But to cut off all superintendence is impossible : nor must the Bishop of Norwich be in common candour supposed ever to mean, that men are to be allowed to run riot in teaching and preaching just what they like ; for society implies in its very constitution some deference to that which is necessary for its own preservation ; and a preference, founded in the nature of circumstances, to doctrines and opinions congenial to the government under which men live, will point to the propriety of exercising that preference, by erecting a religious establishment which shall be congenial to its other kindred institutions ; and as in a republic it would hardly be consistent to foster episcopal authorities like those in England, so in a limited monarchy it would be difficult to find a species of Church government more congenial, though it might be advisable, with a view to the better adjustment of the powers of the constitution in the opinion of very many, and perhaps very justly, to shorten their secular arm of power, by which the aristocracy and crown receive a support from the very principle of our religion, which is submission, that may be deemed in political matters not always judiciously applied.

4. The opinion of this prelate on another matter

gave rise to a serious difference of opinion and coolness between an old and valued friend, between whom and a brother-in-law of that friend he wished to mediate,—and this was the doctrine of forgiveness: the friend alluded to, who was a man of great and well-known talents and literary acquirement, contended that forgiveness should first be sought; the Bishop of Norwich, that it should be granted without asking. But the writer of these pages considers the distinction fully understood to be without much difference; for he always observed, that when his father felt hurt and angry, that though the common intercourse of life did not with the offending party seem by him to be interrupted, yet it was generally some time, and always till a disposition really desirous of perfect forgiveness was displayed, before his manner was cordial as before: and this the writer himself experienced, till he determined in all things to submit, as he felt himself in duty bound in all things, his judgments and feelings to a father who was so near perfection: and from the time when first he espoused the same cause, both from conviction and feeling in public life, which his father espoused, he does not remember a thing in which he differed from him except as to offence taken at Mr. Coke; which feeling of offence he could long ago have sacrificed, had he seen it possible to

restore on Mr. Coke's part that cordiality, without which any intercourse between the parties could only be painful : and out of love to his father he did really try what a reconciliation could effect without a distinct pledge of perfect forgiveness on both sides, but found that though he himself was fully disposed to let that forgiveness entirely operate, he did not meet with a reciprocal feeling ; and being of too ardent a mind to bear patiently studied slights and cold manner and gloomy looks, he thought it more advisable on every account to keep a decided distance, whereby charity should not be violated : and he could not but feel hurt and have a difference of opinion which nothing could overcome, when he found his father justify the coolness of his friend in many things complained of, even during the period when all parties were on the best terms, on the ground of the writer of these pages having acted in 1806 against Mr. Coke and Mr. Wyndham, when Lord Bathurst, who was then out of power, wrote anxiously that every thing should be done against the election of Mr. Wyndham, who had voted against the monument to Mr. Pitt ; and when Mr. Coke identified himself boldly with Mr. Wyndham, and declared he would give up his seat to Mr. Wyndham if himself were returned without his friend ; and when there was no pros-

pect of Lord Bathurst being in a situation to serve him any more.

The following letter shows the line which the Bishop took as to his son's disagreement with Mr. Coke : his son entirely differed from him, and still differs as to the mode of producing a reconciliation : it was and is his opinion, that it is better for old friends not to meet again, unless matters of difference be fully explained and reconciled ; it is otherwise indeed a "*malè sarta gratia*."

My dear Henry,

I arrived here last night, and found upon my table a great number of letters, which (added to the fatigue of a very long journey) has almost overset me ; but two days of repose will, I trust, recruit my strength. On Wednesday next I go to Somerleaze ; and on Saturday the 5th of November it is my intention to reach London, where I shall rejoice to see you whenever you come.

With respect to the unfortunate disagreement between you and Mr. Coke, I can only say, that I have a very sincere love and esteem for both ; but the experience of a long life has taught me to consider the office of an *arbitrator*, as not only a laborious but also (not unfrequently) a thankless

one ; I wish therefore to decline all interference : I will however venture to recommend a PERFECT AMNESTY, *without entering into any discussion of any kind* ; otherwise every attempt at reconciliation will, in my judgment, end at best in “ *malè sarta gratia.*” Adieu ! I have not leisure to add more. Kind love to dear Fanny and the young ones.

Believe me most truly

Your affectionate father,

H. NORWICH.

Bath, October 21st, 1825.

5. August the 9th. Mr. Upton, a dissenter, who has been since a preacher of the Gospel, waited on the Bishop, to ask for a subscription to a charity ; the Archdeacon was present : the Bishop at first seemed distant, being wholly unacquainted with the person by whom he was addressed. The gentleman said, that he had heard the Bishop, at a Bible Society, express his sentiments as to the bond which Christianity established between all who confess the name of Christ, without reference to sect or party : the Bishop immediately replied, “ Men certainly do confound generally Christianity with the establishment of Christianity (meaning the establishment) ; there is no connexion between them.” The Archdeacon was silent ; but he must say

that though the Catholic church consists of all who profess and call themselves Christians, yet that there is a connexion between the establishment and Christianity, if not essential, at least, (humanly speaking) for the better furtherance of Christianity in the purest shape, as being, to use Dr. Balguy's language, a Church which has given birth to a religion founded on reason (in opposition, i.e., to Calvinism and enthusiasm,)—a religion which teaches that a life of virtue is the most acceptable tribute we can pay to the Deity, and the most necessary condition of our eternal happiness. Besides, that the writer of these pages considers the educated mind and government of the country, which is especially selected from the mass of educated mind, is entitled to some submission of judgment from the bulk of the community, who cannot have leisure to judge on very extensive grounds for themselves; and if the deference which is due in any other point to those who have studied a subject more than ourselves be well founded, surely it cannot be ill applied in religion itself. Some may urge, as Balguy says, that great Protestant principle—that all *necessary* truths are *plain*: to which that eminent man replies: “If it should be thought improper to contradict a maxim which is supported by names of the first reputation, and has been esteemed a

sort of bulwark against popery, yet surely we may say without offence, and with the concurring suffrages of all thinking men, that many *important* truths are difficult. The evidence on which we receive them is not so clear and full, and the knowledge we can obtain of them is not so particular, as a philosophical inquirer might wish to find it: we have light enough to show us the way to eternal happiness; but we have *not* enough to exclude the necessity of care and attention, and we have not enough either to satisfy our curiosity or to convert faith into certainty."

6. Speaking of the memory of old men, the Bishop would often quote that passage of Locke, where it is said to be like the tomb, where "though the marble and the brass remain, the inscriptions and imagery are no more,"—a saying which however himself belied, for he showed what Cicero said long ago to be true, "*Manent ingenia senibus modò permaneat studium et industria.*" His memory retained whole sentences of the best classical authors, to a perfection truly astonishing; and the enthusiasm which pervaded his mind, even to the latest age, was not less surprising; and he would often say to his son, "There is something in the fancy which we take to some characters, that cannot wholly be explained,—and this is my case as to Mr. Coke;" which feeling

always made the Archdeacon regret the more that a similar sympathy was extinguished by circumstances in his mind. It must be confessed, however, that this good prelate was a little impatient of contradiction, and did not like to arrive through laborious detail at any information; and his secretary has been heard to say, that he never could get him to read through an act of parliament. He had fagged indeed so hard in youth, and had such a decided preference for literary and classical pursuits, that his mind was spoilt for the work of a literary pioneer.

7. The writer of these pages generally agreed with him in the view which he took of great characters in history; but he does not, like his father, think that Cæsar was greater than Napoleon; notwithstanding that success crowned Cæsar, so far as victory went, to the end, while Napoleon sunk a victim to his ruined ambition. Cæsar had "*Pompeiusque loquax et nomina vana Catonis*" to deal with; Napoleon had the Duke of Wellington—an undaunted soldier, an indefatigable officer; and a man, without vanity, possessing the expanse of an Alexander, the versatility of a Cæsar, and the native genius of a Marlborough, without any great fault which distinguished either, except that he, like the two former, never saw good government except on a military plan; but

to make amends for this, he seems to have a soul above disguise, and a heart above revenge.

It does not appear, however, that the subject of these memoirs ever admired the Duke of Wellington's character much; he considered him a high tory, and a man with a cold heart: but might one not mistake *Ætna* for a cold place, if we look at the snows on its outside, without thinking of the fire collected into a focus within? He has often said that Hume the historian (in whose company he formerly was, when living with Allen Bathurst,) was stupid, and went to sleep after dinner; and he never heard him show what was in him but once, when a presbyterian minister, who was dining at the same table, had been long railing to him against D'Alembert as an atheist; and Hume replied, "He ought to have had religion enough, for his mother was a nun, and his father a friar, own brother to her;"—an anecdote mentioned in the first part of this memoir.

8. Nothing can be a greater proof either of the taste or sentiment of this good Bishop, than his distinguished admiration of that beautiful fable at the end of the famous Jeremy Taylor's 'Liberty of Prophesying:'

"When Abraham sat at his tent-door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain stran-

gers, he espied an old man stooping and leaning on his staff, and weary with age and travel, coming towards him, who was an hundred years of age : he received him kindly, washed his feet, provided supper, and caused him to sit down ; but observing that the old man eat and prayed not, nor begged for a blessing on his meat, asked him why he did not worship the God of Heaven. The old man told him that he worshipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other God ; at which answer Abraham grew so zealously angry, that he thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night, and an unguarded condition. When the old man was gone, God called to Abraham, and asked him where the stranger was : he replied, I thrust him away because he did not worship thee. God answered him, I have suffered him these hundred years, although he dishonoured me ; and couldst thou not endure him one night, when he gave thee no trouble ? Upon this, saith the story, Abraham fetched him back again, and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction."

9. Truly it may be said of the subject of these memoirs, who from youth to age retained the same intellectual character, varied only like the different periods of the day, by the freshness of

the morning, the noontide warmth, and the mellowness of the evening, that his benevolence in youth was never joined with folly, nor his wisdom in age with malice : he possessed the boldness of a Luther with the liberality and mildness of a Melancthon ; and his great maxim seemed to be borrowed from the spirit of Aristotle, where he says of Plato on one side, and of truth on the other, ἀμφοῖν αὐτοῖν φιλοῖν, ὅσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀληθειαν· ‘ having a regard both for my friend and for truth, piety directs me to honour truth before all things : ’ and he seemed to despise nothing more than what Lord Bolingbroke calls the sousing prostitution of Sherlock, who directed his principles to serve his interest, with the same courage that he soused, (as it is said of Sherlock,) when a boy, into the water, while others were standing quivering on the brink : and on the first blank leaf of the New Testament which he studied so assiduously, and which, together with the Old Testament, (which last is unluckily mislaid,) is full in every blank leaf (the alternate leaves being made for notes,) of critical and religious remarks, he has written by itself—“ *Μόνη θύττον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*· ” ‘ I must offer my sacrifice to truth alone.’

10. So early as the age of fifteen years did Dr. Bathurst show his veneration for characters whom

he afterwards imitated ; for he used to visit Bishop Hoadley's tomb at Winchester, whereon is inscribed a cold epitaph, written by Hoadley himself, with the following elegant inscription underneath by his son :—

Patri amantissimo,
Veræ religionis, publicæ libertatis
Vindici,
De se, de patriâ, de humano genere,
Optimè merenti,
Marmor hocce
Posuit
Filius superstes,
GULIELMUS HOADLEY.

11. The following scrap is found among the Bishop's manuscripts, worth preserving, upon the subject of the Reform Bill :—

“ Upon the subject of so extensive and complicate a measure as that of the *Reform Bill*, there must of course be great difference of opinion : to obviate the danger which cannot but arise to the peace and welfare of the state from this circumstance, must be the wish of every wise and good man ; and to effect so important an end, without a dereliction of *principle* on either side, no plan seems to be so well calculated as that of *mutual concession*, and a determination not to allow any

(comparatively speaking) *immaterial* object to stand in the way of that *general* agreement which is in every point of view so highly desirable.

“ We are told that the Church is in danger ; and perhaps it may be, but the danger arises not so much from a restless spirit of *innovation* in some, as from an *obstinate adherence* to *antiquated abuses* in others, who, unobservant of the change in public opinions, are regardless of the consequences which must result from this change.”

12. In another memorandum is as follows :—
“ A wise writer of a former age anticipated with delight the benefits which succeeding ages would derive from the improvements which time and experience could not fail to bring with them : ‘ Veniet tempus quo posterī nostri tam aperta nos nescisse mirentur ; ’ ” and the Bishop adds, “ Compare this with the sentiments of Bishops in 1833.”

13. On Friday at breakfast, June 10th, a few years since, the Archdeacon was saying how poor a return, and especially from the Catholics, his father had from those whom he in life had so much befriended both in public and private : he assented, but said, that they who did good with a hope of reward deserved ingratitude ; for his own part, he should do all the good he could

while he lived, and leave the rest to Providence ;
and added—

*Pulcherrima primùm
Dii moresque dabunt vestri.*

And this sentiment is made more sacred still, by the following sentence of Tindal, one of the fathers of the Church :—“ If thou have devotion,” saith he, “ to help thy brother in all his misfortunes, “ because he is the image of God and price of “ Christ’s blood, then thy devotion certifieth thee “ that thou art in a state of grace.” And truly did the good Bishop, the subject of this memoir, consider mankind, and especially every Christian, as his brother, and, as the image of his Creator, deserving his affection and respect ; and the object in this world the most glorious is a human being, replete with benevolence, meditating in what manner he may render himself more acceptable to his Creator by doing good to his creatures. “ God Almighty,” says Chillingworth, “ requires no more than that we should believe in his revelation—that we should endeavour to understand it, and practise what it enjoins ; ” and where does our blessed Saviour rest on the last great day on practice so distinctly as in the exercise of benevolence ? And it was with pride that he used to repeat that Sir Robert Walpole often

said, that Shippon and Ben Bathurst, the Bishop's father, were the only two honest members of the House of Commons ; no doubt, from having had proof how much real disinterestedness was the basis of their characters, without which real benevolence cannot exist.

14. The Bishop did not seem to think so highly of his uncle the first Lord Bathurst's disinterestedness, as he did of that of the late Earl ; for a famous public character of the day, when at last the first Earl B. got a place, wrote a copy of verses to him beginning thus, which the Bishop often would repeat :—

Dear Bathurst, now you've got a place,
You'll give opposing o'er ;
'Tis comfortable to be in,
But think ! what a d——d while you've been—
Like Peter—at the door.

The same noble Lord, the first Lord B., was, however, often the subject of the Bishop's praise for his great abilities and quickness ; a great specimen of which he would give in the following anecdote :—

Upon one occasion, when Duke Wharton was opposed to him, and was known to have been bought over by the opposite party for £50,000, with which the noble Duke had purchased a new

suit of velvet clothes and a new set of plate, Duke Wharton, in his speech, quoted from Ovid,

Quidve domum referes nono nisi dedecus anno ?

upon which Allen Lord Bathurst rose, and said, "The noble Duke has treated us with a passage from Ovid ; and if we were to judge from the tenor of the noble Duke's life, it would seem that he had studied hardly any other book : but he will allow me to give him a quotation from Virgil :—

*Vendidit hic auro patriam, pretio atque refixit,
Ut gemmâ bibat et Sarrano indormiat ostro :*

which, if your Lordships will allow me, I will translate,—

*This wretch betrays his country and the state,
To clothe in velvet and to dine on plate."*

The Bishop himself, like his worthy pupil the late Earl Bathurst, through life seemed and was incapable of any sordid view. Indeed both he and his pupil carried the disinterestedness farther than was justifiable ; for the late Earl B. never pushed his own sons to any situation, in a manner of which he might fairly have availed himself ; and the Bishop, though he pressed his son, General Bathurst, for a situation to which the General's

acknowledged military merits fully entitled him without any such application, and though he recommended his eldest son to Earl Grey for an Irish bishopric, and transferred his claims in the Church to him, and authorised him to mention his wishes through Lord Albemarle to Lord Melbourne, (to whom his sense of delicacy after what had passed before, and his independence, would not in any other way allow him to apply,) yet during the last year of his life, when required by the Archdeacon (who felt the justice of his claims very sharply) to apply through some other member of the cabinet, he replied, "that Lord Mulgrave ought, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to do what had been asked of his own accord, and that he did not like to do any thing which could compromise his independence"—a feeling which, instead of excusing the government, surely affords just cause to the Bishop's family to wonder how a reasonable request could be so entirely disregarded by a party which was so much indebted to his character and example. And the Archdeacon feels now gratified that his father did not condescend any more to apply to men who could hitherto (with regret he states it) have shown themselves insensible to such fair claims. He seems to have considered the return of evil for good in public and private life,

with the same feeling which is expressed in the following sentence :—

“ A servant of Christ may to his life's end labour in vain : though the object of his disinterestedness and kindness should tear and rend him, yet has he not less approved his loyalty and love.”

15. Even to the last, though from the unfortunate marriage of a talented and beautiful daughter, Mrs. De Crepigny, whose misfortunes naturally agitated her at times very much,—and though in the instance of his favourite son Coote and the amiable accomplished Robert he had suffered such severe trials, yet did his cheerfulness never forsake him : though his memory during the last year for more recent events failed him, and his judgment did not seem so strong as formerly, except when he for a short time could collect by a great effort his mind to attend to a single statement, often would his memory, like the rays of an evening sun, break out from under the horizon with almost mid-day splendour ; and one morning, during the autumn of last year, at breakfast he recited from memory the following verses, written by that extraordinary genius the late Rev. William Crowe, a contemporary with the Bishop :—

How many weary steps my feet have run
Since first I trod thy banks with alders crown'd,
And thought my way was all through fairy ground,
Beneath thine azure sky and cloudless sun,
Where first my Muse to lisp her notes begun.
Sweet native stream ! those skies and suns so pure
Return no more to cheer my evening road ;
Yet still one joy remains—that not obscure
Nor useless in my day has been my lot,
From youth's gay dawn to manhood's prime mature :
Nor was the Muse's laurel unbestowed,
While, pensive Memory tracing back each spot
That fills the varied intervals between,
Some pleasure - more of sorrow—marks the scene.

16. It was a very great comfort, especially during the last year of the Bishop's life, that he had so good a secretary as Mr. John Kitson, who relieved him from a great deal of care ; though Mr. Kitson will testify, that even to the last the correspondence, though short in business, from the Bishop, was always acute and singularly to the point : very different would the Bishop's situation have been, had he had a secretary like the late Mr. —, who was, when he first came to the diocese, a joint secretary, of whom the Bishop used to delight in recounting the following anecdote :—

“ On some occasion a clergyman had written

on some business to the Bishop, and the Bishop desired Mr. — to write him word that he would suspend his judgment for the present upon it : upon which Mr. —, mistaking what the Bishop said, wrote to the clergyman, and told him that the Bishop had suspended him."

17. With all his rare endowments and love of literature this accomplished man has been blamed by some for playing so much in the evenings at whist, especially the last few years of his life, as he certainly was in the habit of so doing ; and his family joined him in it, because they thought the attention which he gave to the game contributed to sharpen and keep his faculties alive, by an amusement of which he was always fond. To say that he could not have employed his evenings more suitably, would be untrue ; but considering how well he employed the day, and how well he spent his life in general, this peccadillo may be pardoned, as also may be the occasional irritability which he displayed at it ;—never from any desire of winning, for he would pay his sons' losses generally, but merely from a native eagerness at any thing which he was about, and a little impatience of contradiction, which contributed to hinder either of his sons from saying any thing which might seem to reflect on this manner of his amusement, even when he would speak, which he

would sometimes, when the cards did not please him, with some eagerness. Calmness on great occasions, irritability in trifles with his children especially, and general courtesy of manners to strangers, were all mixed up together, as virtues and little weaknesses often are; and it is extremely probable that his children might on their part, especially the writer of this memoir, be pretty stiff in their own opinions. In his judgment of others he was always charitable; and in speaking of his children, even when any one of them had even vexed him, he would always praise their good qualities rather than find fault, unless perhaps occasionally just during the last few months, when he must have suffered great uneasiness from his increasing infirmities; and he would dwell on single matters, and repeat the same thing often, though frequently even during that period his faculties, as they did to the last, would show their pristine vigour. He never seemed more annoyed with any set of men than he did, since he first took up the Catholic cause, with the Bishops; though even, speaking of them, he never said any thing harsher, than one day, commenting upon the conduct of a Bishop of considerable parts, who had been active against the Catholics and the cause of civil and religious liberty, when his eldest son expressed surprise at

so much strength and weakness blended in the same character, he said, "It was only owing to the prejudices of education and profession—

The priest completing what the nurse began,
And childhood thus imposing on the man."

18. Speaking of Dr. Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter, leaving (as was stated in the different newspapers, and which has never been contradicted) Exeter during the visitation of the cholera, and going to Teignmouth, his eldest son observed, how much more becoming, and even politic, it would have been, to have faced the danger and remained in Exeter! the Bishop said, "Ay, he seems to have forgotten those lines of Pope, and the example there alluded to of the Bishop of Marseilles, who remained in the city visiting the sick, when all others who could get away deserted it. The Bishop of Marseilles was untouched by the disease, and seems to have been under the peculiar protection of Heaven; so that Pope says—

Why drew Marseilles' good Bishop purer breath,
When Nature sicken'd, and each gale was death?"

19. He would often merely laugh at the bad conduct of his wife's father, Dean Coote, and especially at what the Dean said after the

marriage was celebrated, upon taking leave,—that *she* (meaning his daughter, the Bishop's wife) was a poor creature, and her husband was not much better; and that he never saw any good come of any one who read Homer: and the brute of a Dean actually let his daughter, after marriage with Dr. Bathurst, leave the house with only a bad guinea in her pocket: at all which the Bishop used to laugh heartily.

CHAPTER IX.

Professional studies and ideas—The Bishop's studies in divinity, and his opinions on religious subjects.

IN one of the Bishop's letters introductory to this memoir he speaks, as he well might, of his own industry; for the editor is in possession of a pretty clear specimen of that industry, in the whole of the New Testament, in two volumes, with alternate blank leaves, many pages of which are quite full of annotations, and not a page without some learned annotation in the Bishop's own handwriting. His general scholarship has been illustrated in the early part of the memoir, and may be seen in the elegant specimens of Latin given in the epitaph upon his son and his wife, and the inscription for the image of Napoleon; and the whole of his correspondence breathes a classical odour!

But not only did the Bishop read thus, and mark with notes and illustrations, full of learning,

the whole of the New Testament; he also did the same by the Old Testament, which in two volumes, in like manner, was printed with alternate blank leaves; which two volumes unluckily have been mislaid, and can no longer be found. Welchman, however, on the Articles, with copious notes, and after the same fashion, is in the editor's possession: it was, together with the New Testament and the Old Testament, if he can ever find it, given to him by his father. It would be tedious and too long for this work to give the notes at any length, but it may be satisfactory to give a few extracts, to show the soundness of the Bishop's opinions in divinity, which by some, though without reason, has been doubted;—and, first, as to Christian motives:—

Matt. xxv. 35.—“From the general tenor of Scripture, we are not to suppose that the stress is laid on *occasional* acts of mercy, or any acts at all, unless they flow from a true Christian motive—the devotion of ourselves and all our acts of mercy to God: when the habit of benevolence is formed, an act of kindness has merit, though at the time of our forming it we do not think perhaps of its being required by God.”

Again, as to the conditions of salvation:—“The religion taught by Christ was very plain—it was founded on the *lost condition of mankind*, and their

utter inability of restoring themselves to God's favour. Faith in him as their Lawgiver and Saviour was the first condition he required; and that men might not believe without a sufficient *ground* for faith, he appealed to the *prophecies* he fulfilled, the *miracles* he performed, and the *holy doctrines* he taught: as the *fruits* of faith, he expected men to repent of their sins, and lead holy lives; thus restoring themselves through God's *grace* (which was promised to their prayers and endeavours) to that purity of heart which they had originally lost. These were the plain conditions of the Gospel, and on the performance of them he promised mankind the pardon of their sins *through his death*, and a restoration to that everlasting bliss which their first Father had forfeited: he did not however openly profess himself the Messiah, even to his own disciples, at least not till towards the conclusion of his ministry; the idea of a crucified Redeemer they could not bear."

Again, the following is the list of books recommended for divinity studies in the Bishop's own handwriting:—

Practical and Pastoral Duties.

Baxter's Reformed Pastor.

Burnet's Pastoral Care.

Ostervald's Lectures on the Ministry.
Whole Duty of Man.

Books of Devotion.

Gibson's Family Devotions.
Nelson's Ditto.
Patrick's Devout Christian.

Natural Religion.

Fenelon on the Existence of God.
Hale's Primitive Origination of Mankind.
Bentley's Sermons at Boyle's Lectures.
Sherlock on Providence.
Wilkins on Natural Religion.

Revealed Religion.

Paley's Evidences.
Addison's Evidences of the Christian Religion.
Chandler's (Bishop) Defence of Christianity.
Grotius de Veritate Christianæ Religionis.
Jenkins' Reasonableness of the Christian Religion.
Leland's Advantage and Necessity of Revelation.

The Scriptures—their authenticity, style and excellence.

Allix's Reflections on the Old and New Testament.
Clarke's Divine Authority of the Scriptures.
Collier's Sacred Interpreter.
Ostervald's Remarks on the Books of the Old and New Testament.
Scripture Vindicated, by Waterland.
Edward's Discourse on the Authority, Style, and Perfection of the Books of the Old and New Testament.
Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.

Comments on the Scriptures.

Hammond on the New Testament.

Kidder on the Pentateuch.

Patrick and Lowth.

Whitby on the New Testament.

Concordances.

Cruden.

Doctrines.

Horbery on the Eternity of Hell Torments.

Stebbing's Sermons at Boyle's Lectures.

Stephens' (William) four Sermons :—on the Eternal Generation ; the Incarnation of our Lord ; the Personality of the Holy Ghost ; and Heterodox Hypothesis.

Doctrine of the Trinity stated and defended by some London Ministers.

Atonement for Sin, Short Defence of it by Leeds.

Lupton on the Resurrection of the same Body.

Brett's Sermons on the Remission of Sins.

Divinity of Christ, A Short Defence of it by Leeds.

Creeds, Articles, Catechism, Liturgy.

Bennett's Directions for the Study of the Thirty-nine Articles.

Burnet on the Thirty-nine Articles.

Pearson on the Creed.

Hammond's Defence of the Liturgy, in the first volume of his Works.

Rotheram's Apology for the Athanasian Creed.

Secker's Lectures on the Catechism.

Stibbing's Catechism.

Welchman on the Thirty-nine Articles.

Wheatley on the Common Prayer.

Waterland's History of the Athanasian Creed.

THE SACRAMENTS AND RITES.

Baptism.

Hammond on Infant Baptism. See vol. ii. of his Works.

Strong on the Indecency and Unlawfulness of Baptising Children in private by a public form.

Wall on Infant Baptism.

The Lord's Supper.

Tracts on this subject, by Allix Peter.

Cudworth.

Gibson.

Warburton.

Confirmation.

Hammond de Confirmatione.

Yardly on Baptism and Confirmation.

Wilson (Bishop).

Brady.

Church of England—its constitution and establishment.

Jewel's Apology.

Nicholls' Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ.

Tillotson's Rule of Faith.

Potter on Church Government.

King (Archbishop) on the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God.

Ecclesiastical History.

Bossuet's Discourse on Universal History.
 Cave's Lives of the Apostolic Fathers.
 Fuller's Ecclesiastical History.
 Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

Miscellaneous Subjects.

Lyttleton on St. Paul's Conversion.
 West on the Resurrection.
 Sharp's (Archbishop) Sermons.
 Sherlock's Sermons.
 Clark's Sermons.
 Tillotson's Sermons.
 Berriman's Sermons at Boyle's Lectures.

The following passage shows the Bishop to have been a sound believer :—

“ Mede, in a letter to Mr. Hartlib, page 868. (Worthington's edition,) speaking of fundamental articles, (of which he makes two sorts, fundamentals of salvation, and fundamentals of ecclesiastical communion,) says : ‘ How far this *ratio* of a fundamental article will stretch, I know not ; but believe it will include most of the articles of the Apostles' Creed ; and by it, also, these two main errors of the *Socinians*, the one denying the *divine nature*, and the other denying the *satisfaction*, may be discerned to be *fundamental* ; for without the belief of the first, the divine majesty

cannot be rightly, that is incommunicably, worshipped, so as to have no other Gods besides him : for he that believes not Christ to be consubstantial with the father, and yet honours him with the same worship, worships not the father incommunicably ; and without the belief of the second, (the *satisfaction* of Christianity,) there can be, I suppose, no saving faith or reliance upon Christ for forgiveness of sins.'

“ This opinion appears to me more rational than Mr. Paley's, according to whose ideas no one is excluded from subscribing our Articles, but *Papists* and *Anabaptists*, on account of the established *doctrines* ; and Puritans, on account of the established church discipline : Arians, Socinians, &c. &c. may, upon his scheme, be admitted into the bosom of our *Church*.”

On the Acts of the Apostles and the *Epistles* are found the following judicious remarks:—“ We have seen in the Gospels an account of the life and death of our blessed Saviour. The great point which seemed wanting in the history of the Gospel was its connexion with the *Gentiles* : the Evangelists had given us the history of our blessed Lord, and his opening the Gospel to the *Jews* ; but it would have been too great a chasm in the sacred story, if, after all the prophecies in favour of the *Gentiles*, we had been in-

debted to profane history alone for our accounts of their conversion. What we call *the Acts of the Apostles* might more properly have been inscribed *the history of the conversion of the Gentiles*: in this work we have an account of the manner in which the Christian religion was first propagated among the heathen nations. We come now to the Epistles, or those letters which the Apostles wrote to the several churches they had established either to confirm their faith or to remove the *errors* which had been introduced among them: most of these Epistles were written by St. Paul, whose writings are commonly esteemed among the most difficult parts of Scripture: though he is considered as a close reasoner by those who are themselves the greatest masters of reasoning, yet it often requires more than ordinary attention to follow his argument; but the chief obscurity in St. Paul's writings arises from the *subject*. The other Epistles, which are called *Catholic*, are commonly written upon *general* topics of religion: the Epistles of St. Paul are of a different construction; they are principally intended to oppose such anti-christian tenets as were getting ground in the Apostle's time: many parts indeed of these Epistles are direct answers to questions, or to the particular statement of cases, which had been put to the Apostle: and the obscurity arises from our having only the

answer before us ; but neither the question, nor the state of the case. The undetermined use of the pronouns *I* and *we* occasions obscurity in St. Paul's writings : sometimes the Apostle speaks in *his own person*—sometimes as a Jew—sometimes as a *Gentile*—sometimes as an infidel—sometimes as a believer."

The following reflections on St. Paul are found also at the end of the second volume :—

" St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans and in that to the Galatians, informs his Christian converts, both Jews and Gentiles, that the ceremonies of the Jewish law were now abolished ; that although many *individuals* among the Jews might embrace the Gospel, yet as a *people* they were rejected. The controversy about predestination probably did not arise in the Church, till that early one with regard to *Jews* and *Gentiles*, on which it is founded, had been forgotten : the scope and connexion of St. Paul's warm and figurative expressions *vessels of mercy* and *vessels of wrath fitted for destruction* not being sufficiently attended to, the *primary* meaning of them was lost with a large party of Christians ; and instead of being explained as *terms* expressing the *general faith and penitence* of one *nation*, and the *general hardened infidelity* of another, they were made to express the *salvation* of ONE MAN, and the *damnation* of another,—not according to the Gospel terms of *faith*

and *repentance*, but by the *absolute decrees* of God : whereas, in fact, the Apostle seems not to have the least allusion to particular persons. The words *elect*, *chosen*, *justified*, were terms familiar among the Jews for persons *conditionally* called into a state of grace ; and, as such, St. Paul adopts them : in the 9th chapter of the Romans, where the cases of *Jacob* and *Esau* are mentioned, it is plain that the *everlasting state* of *Jacob* and *Esau*, as INDIVIDUALS, is not even hinted at.

“ Mistakes have also arisen with regard to *faith* and *works* ; but it is most probable, that when St. Paul speaks of *justification by faith*, he means, in general, *justification by the Gospel*, which we accept through *faith* ; and when he speaks of *works*, his argument most frequently requires him to mean the *ceremonies and observances of the Mosaic law* : I speak in general, for he sometimes, no doubt, treats of that great Gospel doctrine—the insufficiency of all moral works to procure God’s favour, without the merits of Christ. In the 2nd chapter of the Romans it is said, ‘ *the just shall live by faith* : ’ these words contain an apposite application of a passage in Habakkuk : that prophet had been representing to the Jews (chap. ii. 4) the approach of captivity, and takes occasion to show them that the proud and obstinate should suffer, and that they who had faith in the prophecy should escape.

The *righteousness of God* signifies in this passage, as in other parts of Scripture, rather the *manner of being justified*, than the righteousness of God's nature,—from *faith to faith*, from faith in God to faith in Christ."

It appears from a memorandum at the end of the book of the Revelation of St. John, that this great proof of industry was finished at Lymington, Sept. the 20th, 1793.

On the blank leaf before the beginning of 'Welchman on the Articles,' the following reflections are inserted :—

"It is sometimes said, and the observation is plausible, that it is strange to see such a collection of tenets made the standard of the doctrine of a Church that is deservedly valued for her moderation : it is certainly departing from the simplicity of the *first ages*, which we set up for a pattern. The owning the belief of the creeds *then* received was thought sufficient ; the declaration *even* of a Bishop's faith was conceived in very *general* terms : but it should be recollected, that the *enlargement* made in the form of profession of the Christian faith arose from the various *heresies* which sprang up, which it was necessary to condemn, and also to exclude those who held these heresies from communion with the sound part of the churches ; because heretics had showed so much dissimula-

tion when they were low, and so much violence when they prevailed, that it was thought necessary to secure the Church from the disturbance that they might give them, by explaining more at large the doctrines and decisions of the Church. So that, in stating the doctrines of the Church of England so copiously, our reformers followed that method which had been used in a course of many years."

Opposite the 7th and 8th pages of Welchman are written the following notes by the Bishop, on the divinity of Christ and the atonement:—"The first and great proof of the *divinity* of Christ is contained in the beginning of St. John's Gospel—'In the beginning was the *Word*,' &c. &c. 'All things were made by him:—a power to create must be *infinite*. 'He was with God, and *was God*:' these words seem very *plain*; they appear in the *front* of St. John's Gospel, a writer remarkable for the greatest *plainness* and *simplicity*; they ought therefore surely to be understood in a *plain* and *literal* signification, especially when we call to mind that the great design of St. John in his Gospel was to assert the divinity of Christ. Moreover the *names, operations, and attributes of God* are in the clearest manner repeatedly given to *Christ* by the inspired writers of the New Testament: his blood is said to be 'the blood of *God*;' he is called 'the true God,' 'the great

God,' 'the Lord of Glory,' 'the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords.' 'He is said to have known what is in man;' 'he pardons sin,' 'sends the Spirit,' 'gives grace and eternal life,' and 'he shall raise the dead at the last day;' add to this, every act of *worship*, both external and internal, is directed to him as to its proper object: Phil. ii. 10. Heb. i. 5. Rev. v. 8—10. &c. That Christ took man's nature upon him, needs no laboured proof: he was in all things like unto us, *sin excepted*: he was the son of Abraham and David; we have his genealogy in the New Testament. The two natures, the *divine* and *human*, are *joined together* in Christ, but not *confounded*: the particular *manner* of his union, it is not for us to explain: the conjunction of the two natures is termed the hypostatic union. Another important branch of this article is, that 'Christ 'was a true sacrifice to *reconcile* the father to 'us, and that not only for *original* but for *actual* 'sins.' The notion of an *expiatory* sacrifice, which was *then, when the New Testament was written*, well understood all the world over both by *Jew* and *Gentile*, was *this*,—*That the sin of one person was transferred on a man or a beast, who was upon that devoted and offered up to God, and suffered in the room of the offending person; and by this oblation the punishment of the sin being laid on the sacri-*

fice, an expiation was made for sin, and the sinner was believed to be reconciled to God. In a variety of sacrificial expressions Christ is represented to be our *sacrifice*: the phrases of being ‘*offered for or instead of sin,*’ of ‘*becoming sin,*’ or the sin-offering, &c. are applied to the death of Christ: he is called ‘the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world; he is said ‘to have borne our sins on his own body;’ ‘he was the propitiation for the sins of the whole world;’ ‘once ‘in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself;’ ‘he was once offered to bear the sins of many.’ These and a great many more passages in all parts of the New Testament prove as plainly as words can prove any thing, *that the death of Christ is proposed to us as our sacrifice and reconciliation, our atonement and redemption.*”

The above passages were composed by himself, or transcribed in the mature vigour of intellect, and the meridian of the Bishop’s days; and they show how strictly orthodox he was in great parts of divinity, though he shows by another note, which relates to our Saviour’s temptation in the wilderness, how modest and humble we ought to be in our decisions upon all dark and intricate points which are beyond the power of our full comprehensions, where he says, “Our Saviour being

tempted in the wilderness—whether allegorical or not? Figurative *style* is one thing; but we must not apply the same to a fact, related simply, merely because there are some difficulties in the narration: with respect to scriptural difficulties, we may (says Erasmus) talk of referring them to the next general council; in my opinion, it would be better to refer them to that blessed time when we shall see God face to face.”

Books indeed classical, historical, and theological, were the Bishop's great delight; though in those which savoured like Jeremy Taylor, Locke, Jortin, and Hoadly, and were most liberal and comprehensive in their views, he took the most delight: and as he grew onward to the greatest age, his conviction of the great fallibility of human reason in the wisest men, seemed to increase perhaps almost to a weakness; for if we distrust ourselves beyond a certain point, are not we in danger of becoming sceptics?

Far, however, on his dying bed did the firmness of his mind appear to be from suffering through any such weakness; for his last convictions seemed full of the certainty that God is a God of mercy, and accepts us not according to perfection of degree, but according to perfection of state; that he measures us not by the measure of angels, but by the span of a man's hand; and that Christ did

not die for humble, faithful, and sincere believers in vain.

A favourite expression with the Bishop, from a favourite author, was the following:—

“The day will come when one word spoken in charity shall be found to have been of more worth than all the volumes which were ever written of angry controversy.”

Also the fable of Abraham and the angels in Jeremy Taylor, recited before.

And not only was the biblical and professional reading thus laborious and extensive; but such was his acquaintance with the classics in general, and with Cicero in particular, that at one time of his life, if any one would begin any sentence in any part of Cicero's works, he would be able to repeat for some length what follows.

Quotations, however, and references here would be endless; and it is only to be lamented that the Bishop did not apply himself to some formal and large work of divinity, in which the comprehensiveness and soundness of his views would have proved invaluable, from the remarkable combination which he was able to display of profane with sacred learning,—a feature by which he would have been as much distinguished as Dr. Lardner himself, and by juster conclusions on that great point of faith “the divinity of our Saviour.”

The following memorandum is found respecting a new Sabbath bill, and may be given as an additional proof of the sobriety of the Bishop's religious views:—

“ In the year 1618 the *Bishops* published a book entitled ‘A Declaration to *encourage* recreations and sports on the Lord's day.’ In this book, called the ‘Book of Sports,’ &c. it was announced to be the King's pleasure, that the people should *not* be prohibited from pursuing any *lawful* diversion on *Sunday* after divine service ; such, for instance, as *vaulting, leaping, &c. &c.* Compare *this* with the sentiments of many *Bishops* in 1833, and of many well-intentional respectable *laymen* :—*some* who come under these descriptions may not perhaps be aware, that they are supporting the belief and practice of the *enthusiastic Calvinistic Puritans* of 1640 : nor does there appear to be *in our days* any sufficient ground to apprehend that there is a *decay* of real piety in the bulk of the people ; on the contrary, owing to the laudable exertions of the parochial Clergy, divine service is now attended with much greater regularity than in the days that are past ; at least this is the case in *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, as the *returns* made by the Churchwardens, &c. decidedly prove.

As the Bishop has by some of his less generous

political opponents been accused of Socinianism, it cannot but be fair to give the following extract from a Sermon for Christmas-day, in the editor's possession,—evidently the composition, as well as the handwriting of the Bishop, being interlined and corrected in many passages in every page, and which has the words "Christmas-day" written on the back. Towards the end of the Sermon the Bishop says:—

" From various undeniable facts, the natural
" and obvious inference is, that there has at all
" times been a *general apprehension* among man-
" kind that repentance alone would not atone for
" sin, but that vicarious punishment in some shape
" or other *might* be accepted as a satisfaction for it.
" That it certainly would be—Reason, undoubted-
" ly, (whatever it hoped) could not possibly ascer-
" tain: under the impression of this gloomy sus-
" pense, we find therefore that the wiser part of the
" heathen world looked about for further aid than
" mere reason furnished them with; for man,
" as it has been well said, however wise and
" good, when about to appear before a Being of
" infinite perfection, can feel but little confidence
" in his own merit. In the presence of his fellow-
" creatures he may elevate himself, he may think
" highly; but the case is different when he ap-

“ pears before his Creator. To such a Being his
“ imperfect actions, his littleness, his weakness
“ can never seem the proper object either of
“ esteem or reward ; he looks about, therefore,
“ with eagerness for some intercessor, to reconcile
“ his imperfections to divine purity. Christianity
“ teaches him that the most powerful intercession
“ has been made, and the most valuable atone-
“ ment made for our manifold weaknesses and
“ transgressions ; but it does not teach us, and
“ perhaps we may *never* know, the reasons upon
“ which God has acted, in fixing upon this won-
“ derful method of atonement. Let us then
“ beware of indulging the futile and not very
“ innocent curiosity of inquiring *minutely* into a
“ mystery so far beyond the reach of our under-
“ standings.

“ Let us with joy and gratitude take it as we
“ find it revealed to us in the Scriptures, and not
“ run the foolish risk of losing in doubt and debate
“ the inestimable privileges which the incarnation
“ and death of our blessed Saviour have obtained
“ for us, and which through faith and obedience
“ we have it in our power to enjoy.

“ Let the recollection of the infinite love of
“ God, in sending his Son into the world, stir up
“ in our hearts the remembrance of our Lord’s
“ amazing condescension,” &c. &c.

The above remarks treat the question of the divinity of our Saviour just as the Holy Scriptures represent the same, and, 'Faith being assent to any matter upon the testimony of God,' wisely leave the question there; taking for granted that the Gospel is a true history, and Christ not an impostor or mere enthusiast: the character and office of our Saviour must be such as he represents them to be; and if so, we have nothing to do but to conform our belief and practice accordingly; and all reasonings like those of the eloquent American Unitarian preacher, Dr. Channing, or the philosophical religionist, Dr. Fellowes, must fall to the ground.

At the same time that the Bishop, however, wrote and believed as above, it is readily admitted that he had the highest respect for Sir James Smith and for Mr. Edward Taylor, and others, who were Unitarians: nor does there appear to be any inconsistency in this; for a Christian man who is really liberal may surely give even a heathen credit for a sincere belief of error; and much more may he view with indulgence the difference of interpretation put by some upon a revelation delivered down to us in human language: and of moderation in such judgments, a pagan monarch, whose letter is given in a note

to Mosheim's 'Ecclesiastical History,' may teach us a valuable lesson :—

“ In the year 1684 Louis sent a solemn embassy to the King of Siam, whose prime minister at that time was a Greek Christian, named Constantine Faulkon, a man of artful, ambitious, and enterprising spirit : the design of this embassy was to engage a pagan prince to embrace Christianity, and to permit the propagation of the Gospel in his dominions. The King, though he chose to persevere in the religion of his ancestors, yet discovered a spirit of condescension and toleration towards the conductors of this mission ; and the reply which he gave is worthy, for its moderation and liberality, and even piety, of the consideration of those who seem to have such a dread of others who differ in religious tenets from themselves—not that we would discourage any reasonable attempt to propagate that form of worship and those tenets of faith which we conscientiously hold, but that we should leave something more to God, and arrogate somewhat less to ourselves than men usually arrogate. The King of Siam, whose name was Chaw Nourraya, desired his minister Faulkon to tell the French ambassador that he left it to his Most Christian Majesty to judge, whether the change of a religion that had been followed in his dominions for 2229 years

could be a matter of small importance, or a demand with which it was easy to comply : the King asked at the same time, whether the true God, who created heaven and earth, and had bestowed on mankind such different natures and inclinations, could not, when he gave to them the same bodies and souls, have, also, if he had pleased, inspired them with the same religious sentiments, and have made all nations live and die in the same laws : he added, that since order among men and unity in religion do depend absolutely on the divine will, which could as easily introduce them into the world as a diversity of sects, it is natural to conclude that the true God takes as much pleasure to be honoured by different modes of religion and worship, as to be glorified by a prodigious number of different creatures, who praise him every one in his own way.

This doctrine, it is true, is unsound in part, because if God delighted in one mode of worship as well as another, he never could have so denounced, as he has denounced, idolatry, nor would he have sent his Son into the world to redeem man from the effects of sin ; and, after inferior ministries and previous dispensations, to lead him by the death and sufferings of Christ to himself. But surely Christians, who draw their

religion from the same well-head, though the streams which they lead from thence are various, may learn some of the respect and toleration towards each other which the heathen King extends to all mankind; and in the spirit of which moderation he adds and asks further, whether that beauty and variety which we admire in the order of Nature, be less admirable in the order of supernatural things, or less becoming the wisdom of God. "And," continued he, "however that be, "since we know God is the absolute master "of the world, and we are persuaded that nothing "comes to pass contrary to his will, I resign my "person and dominions into the arms of his "Providence, and beseech the Eternal Wisdom "to dispose thereof according to his good-will "and pleasure."

CHAPTER X.

Review—Reflections, inclusive of qualifying and exceptive circumstances—and summary of those features which entitle the subject of these memoirs to the peculiar interest and regard of posterity.

LET us now take a review of the subject of this memoir,—as a man, a father, a husband, a Christian minister and bishop,—as a scholar, a divine, and member of society,—and as a friend,—and lastly, as that which more especially justifies the call here made upon the attention of the country, an eminent public character, in whom the public can be shown to be especially interested; a question which will be seen to be involved with the most important qualities of a more private nature.

As *a man*, he was in external appearance tall, without being awkward; and indeed remarkably easy and gentlemanly in his deportment and carriage, though, when walking, and in thought,

inclined to stoop. He was cheerful and easy of access, and pleased and amused with trifling occurrences,—a great sign of an innocent mind. He was remarkably familiar with inferiors, though never degrading himself; very kind and indulgent to servants, though his house was remarkably regular. Though kind to all acquaintance, he had decided preferences, and not always perhaps with sufficient reason; and he never was so partial as might be expected to his friend and pupil's excellent lady; and it must have been from want of approaching her more nearly, which a sort of shyness, where he did not fancy people, often hindered him from doing, and led him to strengthen rather than get rid of an unreasonable prejudice: and this trait was in particular remarkable as to this amiable lady, in whom, during the whole period of that coolness which evidently more or less existed, from the time when the Bishop first took part with the Catholics, the writer of this memoir can truly say that he never found otherwise than a kind good friend, who was always ready to do a good-natured action, and who did in a variety of instances do the kindest offices by the writer of this memoir and his family. But the Bishop was always exceedingly attached to his wife, who was devoted to him; and it appears that some want of a perfect understanding seemed

always to exist in that quarter towards Lady B., which may account for this matter ; whether sufficiently or not, may be a matter of opinion : this also may account for the Bishop never having availed himself of the opportunity of living, at least a part of the year, on his benefice of Salperton, which it appears, from the early part of this memoir, Lord B. was very desirous he should do ; and little circumstances of the kind alluded to often produce insensible estrangements. He also, when the Chancellor Lord Bathurst died, seemed not quite pleased that he had not a ring as a mark of regard from his successor, and rather thought from that circumstance that his pupil had somewhat grown cool towards him ; which however does not appear in essential matters to have been so, as Lord B. afterwards offered him the bishopric of Killala, with the prospect of the primacy of Ireland, and afterwards the bishopric of Norwich ; besides, on the very same day of that promotion, enclosing a letter from the late Lord Mulgrave, with the appointment of his third son Benjamin to the Secretaryship of Legation at the Court of Sweden ; and afterwards pushing him forward to be envoy at Vienna,—not to mention other kindnesses, or the obligations which the Bishop was under for all which he had, to the

Chancellor Lord Bathurst, father of the late Earl.

Why he refused so great an offer as that made in 1795 in Ireland, it is not easy to say, except that his wife having received the unkindest treatment from her father, who was very jealous of Dr. B., did not relish going back to her own country: she used often also to say, that had Dr. B. gone to Ireland, he would have been ruined by his almsgiving, for he could never “turn his face from a poor man;”—a passage he would continually quote, adding, “and then the face of the Lord shall not be turned away from thee.” But it always appeared to the editor of this memoir, that he admired the character of the late Earl Fitzwilliam, who was just removed from the viceroyalty of Ireland, because he had given hopes to the Roman Catholics, and adopted a liberal policy; and that he was unwilling, as private secretary to Lord Camden, which he would have been, and as the *élève* of a government which was commencing a course that led to the bloody rebellion which afterwards took place, to have any share of responsibility. This in all probability, though the Bishop was also desirous of being on the English bench in preference to the Irish, and said little about the matter, was the real reason of his refusal: but the refusal of the offer, upon the

whole, was certainly to be wondered at and regretted ; for had he been at Lord Camden's elbow, he might have suggested counsels of peace, and silently, perhaps, have done the most important public good : but there is no doubt that the Bishop thought that he must only incur blame for measures which he disapproved, if he had accepted the offer.

He was very well judging where he gave his full attention, but did not commonly like the exertion of deep thought, and especially latterly : he was a very elegant scholar, but did not always select his most constant companions from his equals in argument,—a circumstance not uncommon in such characters.

As a man, he was generous, indeed, to the last degree, generous and kind to all, though in every opinion which he advanced in conversation he may be said to have been very pertinacious, though not really offended with others who differed from him ; at the same time he might often be said to have been eager in asserting his own views of a subject : no ingratitude however could quench his feelings towards any one in misfortune ; he would say, “ If you do good to those only who are thankful and deserve it, what merit is there in such conduct ? ”

Towards the end of his life, he could not bear

to hear the party that he had espoused blamed : he would rarely enter into any argument, but seemed determined to stand by the part he had taken, and to suppose the whigs right or excusable : though he does not seem to have been so charitable to Lord Mulgrave, in not appointing the Archdeacon to an Irish see ; whereas, in fact, the Home Government, Lord John Russell and Lord Melbourne more particularly, were to blame ; for Lord Mulgrave's great and unaffected kindness in other matters leaves it impossible to doubt his good-will, or recognition of the claims of the Bishop and his son. It probably might be said, if he would confess,

Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri, et latè fines custode tueri :

and that *custos* was the ungrateful O'Connell, who never thought for a moment of the only Bishop who had served the Catholics with more real advantage than ever he had served them, though he had filled his pockets by the job.

It cannot however be denied, that the worthy prelate's mind soared so much above private and particular affections in public matters, in which he interested himself in behalf of the rights and liberties of mankind, and even in his regard to objects of kindness and charity, that the sound-

ness of this tendency, carried to the point which he carried it, may be questioned by many; and when his eldest son would remind him that charity begins at home, he would reply, "Yes! and ends at home with most people." But this enthusiastic desire to benefit mankind in general, rather than nearer objects, is it always consistent with duty? and is it not tending towards that revolutionary system which sets all local and particular attachments at nought? It is true, to form a great character, a philosophical writer has observed, that all passive impressions must be removed, even as with a great surgeon they must be extinguished, to enable him to use the knife and the caustic successfully: but the plans of Mr. Owen, of Lanark, and of Mr. Lancaster, resting upon the extinction of particular attachment, are at least a formidable experiment to make upon society; and the general ingratitude of public men, or carelessness, at least, as to the Bishop's interests and claims, manifestly show the ingratitude which must be expected by those who would please mankind who know them not, rather than those who come within their more immediate circle. The tear of a few attachments is like a soft dewdrop on the grave, and popularity ought to follow as a consequence, rather than be sought as an object—"gloria, quasi umbra, sequitur vir-

tutem :” and this on many great occasions the good Bishop felt, and stretched a point to serve his children, where his children really and essentially required such aid, as was seen in his great kindness respecting the living of Hollesly, and his anxiety to obtain a military government for his second son, and also in various other instances ; so that though the general bearing of his philanthropy was extreme, it could not be said to have interfered with the strongest and justest feelings of nature, so far at least as his conduct as a father was concerned, where the power of doing a service rested with himself alone.

Even as a *father*, however, he would at times seem latterly in some respects, where others are concerned, to merge the strongest claims of his family in his attachment to the party which he had espoused, and especially by talking about the many claims upon them : many claims, no doubt, they were, but will any reasonable man say that a Bishop who stood in times like those, as to whig principles, when first he advocated them in the senate *alone*, and who never flinched from them afterwards, had not claims superior in the eye of generosity and honour to any other ?

His extreme disinterestedness led him to make perhaps not sufficient objections to the marriages, which must on both sides, in worldly matters, be

considered to have been imprudent, of his daughter Mrs. De Crepigny and his son Robert, and which terminated in painful embarrassments; from which the former is not likely to be extricated; and from which the property chiefly accruing from the family of the latter, together with the strictest economy and the most creditable and honourable exertion, have alone extricated the widow of the latter, and placed her and her children, though not in circumstances (far from it) such as they are entitled to, yet above the pity of the world and in decent independence.

As a father, too, the worthy prelate would in conversation sometimes not treat the opinions of his sons with all that respect which marked his general urbanity: possibly, however, his children might, from the freedom which he always allowed them, give their opinions with too little reserve; though it did always appear to the editor, that his worthy father would encourage on the part of his sons a sense of claims and expectations at an earlier period of life, which on a later period, when the fulfilment was looked to, he seemed at times without sufficient cause to discourage: though, as it has been said before, on any great emergency these little contradictions vanished, and he was as a man and as a father at once such as nothing could surpass. In truth, he was romantically dis-

interested himself, though not free from ambition : he had struggled early in life with great difficulties ; and he measured what others might do, by what himself had done in earlier days ; and his children may severally be challenged to state a single instance in which in any personal aid or at any personal sacrifice he was not ready to assist them.

As a *husband*, his conduct was most exemplary and beyond all praise : he was married to the most affectionate of women and the best of mothers, but whose temper and feelings had been severely tried by the harsh treatment of an unkind father. Never was a woman more devoted to a husband, though her feelings were quick and her temper inclined at times to be irritable : but these occasional outbreaks the husband bore with all that philosophy which becomes a man, and that Christian mildness which becomes a good man ; so that he might truly say, upon a review of life, that “ they were lovely in their lives, and that in death they were not divided : ” he never ceased, both when his wife was living and after she was dead, to extol her virtues :—

He was to her faults a little blind,
And to her virtues always kind.

Several times in a day, long after her death,

would he say, "In piety, in generosity, in disinterestedness, in affection," that "he never knew her equal;" and he was a most kind and indulgent partner. He always seemed to admire her for every thing which in a wife could be admired, and to make little peculiarities or trifling eccentricities a subject of joke and innocent merriment. If there was any thing in which he erred, it was in one or two instances yielding to prejudices which were not well founded.

As a *Christian minister* and *bishop*, we will now candidly review him. It was the opinion of this distinguished minister of the Gospel, that "instead of distracting the minds of their hearers by needless subtleties, or fomenting a spirit of discord and dispute, it is the business of all sound ministers of the Gospel to inculcate sublime and amiable apprehensions of God, generous sentiments towards all mankind, the great and essential truths of the Gospel, and things which make for peace; to explain the peculiar doctrines of Christianity in such a manner as to show that they are all consistent and reasonable, and have all a practical and purifying tendency; 'taking the oversight of the flock of God, not by constraint, but willingly; not by filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; neither as being Lords over God's heritage, but being examples to the flock;' that they should

be exemplary for liberality and munificence, for humility, peaceableness, and moderation."

From that distance, however, which his situation as a member of a cathedral church placed him from the experience of a country village, and the only occasional intercourse in chapter property between those who pay and those who receive, this excellent man certainly was led in consequence of the natural benevolence of his mind, which continual exercise and collision alone could have undeceived, to consider a country life of a clergyman among his parishioners, as something much more pleasing as to situation than it generally can be; and in worldly matters especially, he does not seem to have been sensible of the necessity of a continually determined part being shown by every country clergyman who wishes to maintain his temporal interests and worldly rights: for from the very nature of the tithe system, now so happily about to be changed, and the long habit in many parts of England of compounding for tithes, the occupier of the soil has been too much accustomed to consider tithe in the nature of a tax, rather than a distinct property which belongs to another; and being continually obliged to lay out his capital on the improvement of the soil, he cannot separate the payment of a tenth part of the improved produce thereof, from the idea of a tortuous

taking away of a part of his capital ; which considerations do undoubtedly make it matter of satisfaction, that some serious endeavour at a fair commutation for tithe has been made by the legislature : but considering the property of the Church as the property of any private individual who has his family and domestic interests to protect, it may be asked why a farmer or occupier of the soil should expect a clergyman to give up that which he would not give up himself ; and take from his children that bread which the anxious exertions of his friends, and often his own merits, have obtained for the possessor.

There is not the smallest doubt that the Bishop might, during his residence at Norwich, have been £20,000 richer, had he only exacted what other men would have exacted ; and through life, had it not been for his totally refraining from all personal expense, it would be impossible to conceive, with all his economy and good management, and the carefulness of his excellent wife, how he could maintain the respectable appearance in his domestic establishment which he did always maintain.

There are three or four points on which it seems difficult for a near observer to reconcile the propriety of this excellent man's views in the disposal of preferment. Those points are as follows : the

first refers to the disposal of preferment in the case of the valuable living of Drayton : this living, which fell vacant some time before his son Robert was in orders, the Bishop gave to the Rev. Robert Raikes, out of gratitude to Mr. Raikes's maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Trigge, who had been very kind early in life to his son James (now General Bathurst); but as Sir Thomas Trigge never appeared by any means particularly gratified with the appointment, we must attribute the selection to the generosity of the Bishop's temper, rather than to any particular claim which could supersede the superior advantage to his son Robert, had this piece of preferment been kept for him; which, considering that Mr. Raikes had already a piece of preferment worth about £300 per annum, which he gave up to a worthy man having no particular claim on the Bishop, it is to be lamented was not arranged.

Another instance in which the disposal of preferment did not appear also so advisable, may be recorded in the passing by, on this occasion, not only the worldly interests of his son, but also the interests of his sister's son, the Rev. J. Prowett, a worthy man of considerable acquirements, and much distressed for a long time in his circumstances; and who, till the death of Robert, had nothing but a moderate and troublesome piece of

preferment in Sussex, in exchange for a living in Norfolk of about £360 a year, and was then only presented to the small living of Heigham, near Norwich, which would not contribute any great addition of wealth. It is perfectly true, that by a letter of remonstrance on one occasion this worthy gentleman had given the Bishop considerable offence ; but it certainly would have been more congenial to the general good-nature of the Bishop to have passed over such offence in one who was under considerable embarrassment of circumstances, which probably did not tend to sweeten the temper, and who is a very worthy clergyman and a good scholar.

That on no one occasion should the Bishop ever have offered a piece of preferment (except a small living to Mr. Brickdale) to the disposal of his benefactor, Lord Bathurst, is a subject much to be regretted ; and though no appointment could be more efficient to the profession, or more advantageous to the cause of public interest, which the Bishop had espoused, than that which was made, it may be questioned whether the appointment of Rev. Robert Bathurst to the arch-deaconry of Sudbury, though of little pecuniary value, would not have been, on the whole, more satisfactory and judicious, and to have taken the chance of serving Mr. Glover on some other occa-

family might not tend to improve a good understanding. Be it as it may, the omission does altogether appear questionable, and calculated to have displeased Lord Bathurst, who really wished to have Dr. B. near him.

It could also have been wished, that in his society he had mixed more with the clergy, and especially if of an evening he had had conversation parties of the city clergy instead of a game at whist; and if he had, like Bishop Burnet, made it his business to visit among the county clergy, many of whom, being in easy circumstances, would have been pleased and delighted to receive him; and by means of which visiting he might have become more particularly acquainted with most things as connected with the diocese; from which it must be also admitted, that it will be wished he had kept his repeated resolutions not more to absent himself.

Notwithstanding however these abatements, the very conciliatory manners with which he received all the clergy who went to him on business, his easy access to all, his strict punctuality in answering letters, and the very numerous and uncommon acts of generosity and benevolence at his own expense, which he displayed towards very many of the poorer clergy, won him the hearts of all whose politics were not very violent:

and, even with these, prejudice is now seen completely at abeyance.

It will be seen also, that in ordination, as bishop, he was perhaps too indiscriminate; though, till education at the universities is cheapened, and a general agreement made among Bishops not to confine qualifications arising from degrees to Oxford and Cambridge alone, no bishop with this prelate's liberal principles can avoid feeling at least that some relaxation is desirable, though the rules of that relaxation ought to be generally understood and the limits defined. That he may from the result of his liberal plan have ordained two or three individuals whom he might afterwards wish not to have ordained, is no great proof of blame to be attributed to him in the course of thirty-two years.

Furthermore, it may be admitted that a less frequent employment of evenings in a rubber at whist might have been more dignified and suited to his station; though, on the other hand, latterly this amusement appeared to those about him to contribute very much towards the keeping his faculties together, and therefore to be not only excusable, but positively advisable.

As a *scholar*, it is unnecessary, after the style of his letters, and the specimens, though too few, already given of his taste and feeling and

cultivation of mind, to say a word more, than that he from the beginning to the end of life appeared fully sensible, by his own experience, of the truth and beauty of that passage in his favourite Cicero:—"Hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium et solatium præbent, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur."

As a divine, the public, from the specimens already given in the ninth chapter of this volume, will perceive that he was at once liberal and sound.

In the union of extraordinary indifference to money, and at the same time of a strict though liberal economy, no one, from what has been related, has ever exceeded this good man: and when he came to the living of Witchingham, he found the widow of the late incumbent distressed; and, though he had afterwards to pay dilapidations, when he resigned it soon after, he took nothing of her. So that as a *member of society*, or what the Scripture calls a *neighbour*, he was indeed eminent. With four boys at expensive schools, with nothing but the canonry of Christ-church (then about £600 a year), and a family living (yielding about £160 per annum more, clear,) did Dr. Bathurst for many years yet keep a handsome establishment, including two men-servants and a housekeeper,

and a regularly well-supplied and genteel table : and his children knew that he never stinted them in any reasonable amusement or expense ; and they who are yet alive well know that he never refused a beggar if he had a halfpenny in his pocket. The utter contempt of self and little personal expense of both himself and his ever-to-be-lamented consort, alone could enable them to be thus liberal, and able to satisfy the various demands upon them. The amusements of Dr. B. were rational and unexpensive :—a rubber at one shilling whist and a game at chess were the innocent and cheerful recreations with which he employed himself, when not engaged with books or duties during his residence at Oxford and Durham ; and his general stake at whist did afterwards not exceed that amount.

His good nature was excessive, and such as induced him sometimes to gratify importunate suitors for subscriptions of various kinds, and to give way in money-matters to some unreasonable demands of lessees during the time he was a Bishop.

In *friendship* he was distinguished by a considerable degree of enthusiasm, and he often gave others credit for more sincerity and zeal for his interests than they really felt ; and the recollection of early acquaintance and long intimacy

poured a gleam over his prospect of human regard, which was rarely in equal degree reflected back upon him. He was justly and decidedly popular ; but the writer of this memoir cannot remember an individual, except Lord Bathurst, who made the interests of Dr. B. and his family (till the *res dura* of politics somewhat separated them) a decided object of great exertion ; but there was a coldness about Lord Bathurst's deportment, and with the most gentlemanly manners yet there was an aristocratical distance, which did not coincide exactly with the free and easy temper, at all times, of his friend and tutor ; and are there not too many little nameless ways, by a regard to which, ceremonies, civility, or good nature, without heart, render life pleasing ; and which a steady, manly, and affectionate mind, bent on the performance of great and good offices and comprehensive objects, may possibly overlook, and by overlooking seem to take something from the demands of gratitude ?

In conversation he appeared to be a little impatient of contradiction ; but the fault might have been as much on the side of one who disputed with him, as on his side. On ordinary topics, and in communicating general information or particular anecdotes, he was excelled by none, either in variety or in agreeable method of delivery : a little

precise indeed, and logical at times more than in ordinary discussion, may to careless minds be agreeable, but always ready to yield the instant that he appeared to have pushed a discussion too far.

It may lastly be asked, why the good Bishop, who was always such a friend to the oppressed, never raised his voice in behalf of the oppressed Queen Caroline, for pitying whom he praised his son? The answer may be given in a few words: the Bishop was then above seventy-five years of age, and all Peers and Bishops above seventy years of age were excused from attendance on that occasion: it would have seemed an indelicate thing to have put himself so circumstanced forward. If also he felt some gratitude for the kind manner in which George IV. had received him upon an occasion when he went to plead in behalf of an old and distinguished officer, his wife's brother, (for in behalf of him, and out of affection to his wife, he undertook the delicate task of trying whether he could get him restored to his honours, of which he had been deprived,) will such a feeling be condemned? and if Lord — had held out a hope that at the coronation it was possible the disgrace of his brave comrade in arms and companion of Abercromby might be wiped out by an act of royal pity, would

the Bishop be blamed for declining to interfere actively in a case where the royal family was interested? and supposing that these last motives had no weight, the mere odiousness of inquiring in any way into such a concern, as the discussions respecting Queen Caroline in the House of Lords, might, on the score of delicacy, be readily and fairly pleaded; and can any trait exhibit more decidedly the value of the Bishop as a friend, than the delicate circumstances of interference in this paragraph alluded to?

And after all these abatements made, (if all of them be abatements,) do we not see in the man, the father, the husband, the companion, the scholar, the gentleman, the Christian minister, the bishop, one great principle to distinguish and elevate this prelate; namely, a freedom from self, and a devotion, while a private character, to his family and domestic duties; and that devotion extending, when in a public situation, in a manner never paralleled, in any exactly similar situation, to mankind and country, and thereby rendering him an object of that uncommon interest, the conviction of which has led to the compilation of this memoir.

Here indeed is the pivot, the turning point of this distinguished man's character, as interesting to the public—was he justified in leaving such

a friend as Lord Bathurst had proved himself, and has together with his father and grandfather been proved by the particulars of this memoir to have been?

Should he have accepted the bishopric of Norwich, without first declaring his politics, &c.? need he have embarked so fully in party, as to involve all his family interests with it? The writer of this memoir well remembers how astonished he was, when first he learnt the decided declarations in the House of Lords made by his father, though he afterwards took part with his father, thinking it proper and prudent; and above all, seeing the turn which public feeling and notions were taking, and thinking that the tories held too fast to old things, when they might have given way, without running the risk which they afterwards ran. And have not many doubts and fears been realised by the event?—by ingratitude of so many whigs? by loss of old friends, without acquiring new ones of half their worth? by the result of a government too often drifting before the wind and tide of popular agitation, without regard to friends or any fixed rule of action; one time compromising a good principle, at another yielding principles affecting property and institutions which ought to be held sacred?

The doctrine of the greatest good to the greatest

number is sound ; but may not this principle be followed up by applying it to old institutions, as well as by planning new ? Human things are all imperfect. Is it certain that a wholly new system will be better than the old ? and when we extend and fritter away our affections under an idea of making every one easy, do we not foster an indifference inconsistent with those salutary attachments (call them prejudices if you please) which are essential to the continuance of any institutions ? We might as well say that any pretty and good woman's beauty and worth are to be on an equal footing, in our view, with that of a wife. To enlarge and liberalise, ought not to mean to dissipate and annihilate.

Apply these directions to the Bishop and Lord B. Lord B. held these views ; the Bishop travelled into a *terra incognita*, where he indeed assisted in making important discoveries, or recovering a good clue for what had been lost sight of for ages : but eventually not so much that is valuable seems likely to be discovered, as new disputes to be insured, interminable as those about the British boundaries in North America. The liberty of speech and remonstrance existed to an extent before all the new order of things, quite as much as now ; and Lord Liverpool, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Eldon were more respectful to those

who differ from them, than Lord John Russell and Lord Brougham, as may be seen by those who have been correspondents with them. It seems the essence of a government with a very democratic bearing, to be unjust. Men in power plunge themselves into a position under such a new order of things, where natural good feelings seem at variance with their best interests. The principle of looking to the many instead of the few, involves this contradiction, by obliging them to look to individuals who by ascendancy over the multitude may overrule them, rather than to those who have the stronger claim of justice and equity; and all the evil that could arise from an overgrown aristocracy attends the temporary and fluctuating interests of an insolent democracy.

Has then the Bishop's example done no good? Yes! for the natural tendency of things is to a just medium; and by the bold efforts of such men, a greater and more speedy infusion of what is wanting to produce that medium is insured. Aristocracy and kingly power had been struggling for a great ascendancy: the resistance of such men checked their advance, and roused the sense of the dignity of human nature: a democratic principle now seems more the lord of the ascendant; and wherever this is too rampant, bold spirits like that of the great Mr. Burke must be raised

up by Providence, if society be not destined to fall to pieces.

In the mean time, the common gratitude of mankind ought to follow those, who, like the Bishop, have sacrificed a large portion of what others covet, for that satisfaction which follows the sense of extending the boundaries of human liberty and virtue, of righting those who are wronged, and upholding the weakest side; which in every great event, whether it were the Catholic cause,—that of dissenters,—that of the populace, when visited with strong measures or severe laws, —or the individual case of the late Queen Caroline, the Bishop always took. The Duke of Wellington deserves the honour of those who think that he has succoured through life the cause of order, as being the most in danger; and the Bishop of Norwich deserves the gratitude of those who think as he did,—that men are always in more danger from power of governors, than from the people governed. Whether he has met with that gratitude from the great and powerful, proofs have been shown; whether his memory and his family will yet meet with it from the people remains yet to be seen, when the case shall, as now, have been fully stated. Enthusiastic by nature in the cause of what he deemed to be benevolence, he appears from earliest life to have taken that bias, which,

with the assistance of others like himself, has shaken old things and old prejudices (if you will call them so) from their foundations. Those who think and feel with him, ought at all events to be grateful. Look to his letters for near thirty years : they breathe nothing but anxiety for the cause which he espoused ; every other consideration sinks before it—friends, family, personal interests, all which others most value. Count his gains : in this world they have been little indeed, but he is gone where they will be justly estimated, and where his generous emotions will be justly appreciated. And in this world posterity may and will truly say :—“ This man must have been
“ faithful in his time, when from the earliest
“ youth he displayed feelings so far from selfish-
“ ness, and which, allowing for human nature and
“ circumstances, he so boldly and with such un-
“ common consistency maintained through near
“ a century : his heart must have been of un-
“ common texture, when it never failed to beat
“ with pity for the unfortunate, or his hand to
“ relieve them ; and if he too easily gave up par-
“ ticular attachments in the desire of being more
“ generally kind, it was like a stream pent up by
“ artificial banks,—so full that it burst its banks,
“ and sunk to a more shallow and general level :

“ a deep and more silent stream may be the
“ admiration of many, but it is the Nile alone
“ which gives fertility to a whole kingdom.”

And in estimating great characters, whether on one part of human affairs and opinions, or on the other, the philosophic and charitable and religious mind will ever consider that Providence in its beautiful variety and apparent disorder seems purposely to have infused different characters, like different ingredients, into the same, each like the planets and the comets of the heavenly spheres, to perform the task assigned them; or like those elements which are more familiar to us—the rain, the sun, the wind, and the storm; or those things which meet our eye and diversify our life—the herb, fruit, flower, thistle and rose, brier, and rarest plant. God hath set all things one against another, and hath left nothing unequal or uneven! Only let men drink of that amiable spirit which breathed into the soul of the subject of these memoirs, and allow for all the meed of homage to the Creator to which he is entitled. That the subject of this memoir was perfect is not pretended; that he soared above the common order of mortals, and was distinguished by a bold individuality, which anticipated rather than followed the course of human events, cannot

be denied; and let those who would carp at his imperfections, remember the beautiful saying of Shakspeare:—"The web of our life is made of mingled yarn, of good and ill together: our virtues would grow proud, were they not whipped by our faults; and our faults would despair, were they not cherished by our virtues."

And when we reflect upon the great predominance of every good and great quality which distinguished this uncommon person, let us rather glory that his family may instance him with pride, as an example of one whose virtues giving peace and composure to his mind, always unhurt by outward events, by misfortune, ingratitude, or disappointment, may enable us to say, "as the scene of virtue life is ennobled, as such it is to be desired: to virtue hath the supreme director of all things annexed rewards sufficient even here to fix our attachments."

But we will not pause till we have thoroughly sifted the merits from any supposed demerits in the line of public conduct adopted by the subject of this memoir—"posteritati pingo:" and when the penman is gone to his rest, his second son perhaps may cast an eye over this work in the library of New College, where a copy of this work will be deposited, and where his father

trusts that his son will one day be a fellow : and notwithstanding the anticipating and unwarranted anger of the Duke of Sussex, that son, his father hopes, will be as faithful to his memory as he the penman of these pages has been to that of his father,—as ready (should circumstances call for the effort) to be, even in death, the moral avenger of his just claims, and the herald of his fair deserts.

To proceed then in the debate, as to the question how far the Bishop of Norwich was fully justified in separating from his friend and patron. It may be asked with propriety, whether, in a question such as that of Catholic emancipation, if not purely ecclesiastical, being at least a question wherein a Bishop is naturally to be expected to form a decided opinion, one way or the other, it was reasonable in his kind patron to expect that his *élève* should compromise his principles ; and it may be asked whether the reasonableness thereof will surely not be a matter of serious doubt ; although that excellent nobleman, who had a great deal of dry drollery about him, was known to say, that the Bishops ought to be liable to some mark, whereby they might be known not to be the same with temporal peers of hereditary rank ; and that one of them, with a view to this sepa-

ration of castes, ought always be made "to poke the fire" in the House of Lords: and although, in sober earnest, it must be admitted, that knowing as his Lordship did the Sovereign's opinions in 1808, and that those opinions were likely to prove insurmountable obstacles to the passing of the measure in question into a law, Lord Bathurst must in candour be understood as expressing what would cease to be in his power, rather than in his will, should the Bishop take the line which he took, when he declared to him the consequences: and it must be confessed, that for many years this question appeared so much in the shape of ins and outs, that a party politician conscientiously opposed to it may be excused for indulging more displeasure than a looker-on would impartially think right. We naturally expect, in questions which we merely consider as personal, to be supported by those who are obliged to us: but certainly when the question after 1810 became open, and no longer avowedly a party question, we can only excuse Lord Bathurst for admitting the like proscription of the Bishop of Norwich any longer, on the ground that having been disgusted, as a man of very bold constitutional principles must be disgusted, at the plea of personal objection on the part of the Crown, which is always supposed to be corrected, and

has been always corrected by the good sense of the House of Brunswick, in compliance with the expressed wish of the two houses of legislature, the Bishop of Norwich had already identified himself altogether with whig politics ; and on these points depends the opinion which we must form of the estrangement so far between these two excellent men.

Upon convictions such as these, no doubt, it was, that Lord Grenville, when the Bishop of Norwich first meditated the decided step which he took in opposition to his pupil, his friend, his patron, and the government, reminded him of the interests of his family, and begged of him to consult them, assuring him that no communication should transpire as to his knowledge of the Bishop's real opinions or intentions ; no alienation of friendship should take place, if he thought it wiser to suppress the declaration of his convictions with a view to the welfare of his family : and most certainly Lord Grenville's gloomiest suspicions of the vindictive spirit of the existing government generally against a Bishop who dared to start from the beaten mark of political servility were fully verified. See after see fell vacant of dignity, value, and ease ; and the Bishop of Norwich, with a near relative, and early pupil and friend, and most influential member of the

cabinet as his patron, besides a nephew, called, by Mr. Canning, Brother Bragge, (the former of whom would gladly, if he could, have served him,) was passed by: it could not be much wondered at, indeed, when we consider what human nature is, that both resentment to a certain degree, and conscientious disagreement on the great subject of Catholic emancipation from his tutor and relation, should deter Lord B. from pushing the Bishop's interest: but what shall we say to the meanness and duplicity of a cabinet, or rather a prime minister like Lord Liverpool, who could allow such circumstances to keep back a worthy man and his family, and prolong the alienation, which was in some manner the necessary consequence of the separation of interests which had taken place. Good nature and delicacy, on the part of Lord Liverpool, would have insisted upon the advancement of the relation and friend of his colleague,—at all events after the year 1812, when Lord L. first became prime minister, and professed by a union of members in the cabinet, supporters and opponents of emancipation, to make that question no longer a political objection, or subject of political difference? But what was his conduct? and is it any wonder that such conduct should create in the Bishop and his family feelings of contempt for the professions and principles of such a mi-

nister, acting with the same duplicity to individuals as to the public? and, in defiance of his own professions, pushing on and countenancing with every advancement, and placing Bishops above him who were no more to be compared to him, than the writer of this memoir is to be compared in strength to Hercules;—and why? merely because they were bigoted opponents of an open question, or, like Bishop Blomfield, had endeavoured to run down the Bishop of Norwich?

On the other hand, so far as personal claims on the late Earl Bathurst, on the part of his episcopal *élève*, were concerned, they appear to have been considerably abated, even at a very early period after the Bishop's appointment to the see of Norwich; for upon the death of Mr. Pitt (during whose administration the Bishop once voted for the postponement, at least, of the question affecting the Catholics, as he once, the editor believes also, did in 1807, after the dissolution of Lord Grenville's ministry,) his early partialities and bearings broke out, when Lord Grenville became minister; and at the election for Norfolk, where Mr. Coke and Mr. Wyndham were opposed to Colonel (now Lord) Woodhouse, the then Earl of Oxford's horses, with whig colours, were put up at the Bishop's stables; and the Bishop then evinced a decided partiality in public matters for Mr.

Coke, which puzzled his son, the writer of this memoir, who could not but recollect that all his father had was owing to Lord Bathurst; and which consideration induced the Archdeacon to hold back from such a new alliance, and to give his vote a plumper for Colonel Woodhouse, when he found that Mr. Coke had identified his interests with Mr. Wyndham, who had opposed the monument to Mr. Pitt, to whom Lord Bathurst was so much attached, and through whose power Lord B. had bestowed on the Bishop the see of Norwich. The Bishop admired Mr. Coke's character, and seems to have followed him rather than his friend Lord B.; but with all respect for Mr. Coke's great disinterestedness, and the great space he had filled in the eyes of the county, as an agriculturist, as a man, and as a public character,—it must be questioned whether the real liberty and happiness of mankind have been promoted more by him, than by such men as Lord Bathurst. In private life they may be admitted to be equally amiable as domestic characters; but can those who ever knew them both, compare them as men of refinement, taste, elegance of manners, cultivation of mind,—of which Lord B. was the acme of perfection? and in public life does not that public man who upholds attachment to old institutions, and is humane and

humble, and disinterested in all his public conduct, and encouraging subjects and that vast body of mankind which is born to obey, to yield obedience and support order, a more really useful public man than he who constantly panders to a desire of change, and does all he can to promote a spirit which he may wish and intend to be a spirit of improved liberty and government, but which amounts, after all, to little more than a perpetual hankering after something unknown and unexperienced?

There is this difference between what is called the tory and whig system, stripped of all verbiage—it is this: the tories are for holding fast what they find good in old things, without trying experiments; leaving to time, and to the natural conflict of opinion, gradually to work any operation, as quietly as possible, which may be desirable: the whigs are for hastening on the course of human affairs, even though at a hazard of a dangerous struggle.

The latter policy is the most generous, the former more safe; and the whole resolves itself into a difference of opinion as to the propriety of each method, which will divide men to the end of time, as long as characters and interests differ.

If we now look then to the preference given by the Bishop to the whigs, the question will resolve

itself thus :—is the decided bearing which the Bishop had, from an early age, towards whig principles, a sufficient plea to have separated from his old friend Lord B. ? It would seem that it is, and those who approve the system would answer peremptorily that it was sufficient and imperative. Those who have a greater hesitation as to the soundness of the principles, and the plea of early opinions not distinctly expressed, as to be the rule of his actions when he should be bishop, and declared, to his patron as the line which he must take when a bishop, and who think that in candour Lord B. ought to have been apprised of the line that Dr. B. intended to take, will question the propriety of the decision which the Bishop made when once having accepted a place on the bench from a tory patron : and though all will admit that it was clear, from the state of parties and the court, that the line which the Bishop took must prove disadvantageous to him, and therefore must admire his courage and disinterestedness ; yet those who loved him and wished well to his family and his own happiness, must lament the consequence of the line which he took. For, O ! what an exchange as to friendship and family comfort has it proved ! Instead of solid and substantial affection or attachment, compliments and many personal attentions of an inferior order from in-

dividuals like Mr. Coke, and in one or two instances some more important services, as when Mr. Coke used his interest with the Marquis of Hastings in behalf of Mr. Robert Bathurst, the Bishop's brother in India, and the exertions of Earl Grey to do justice to the Bishop's son the General; with which exceptions, little other results than high-flown expressions from Catholics, dissenters, and the popular party, has been seen; —many, who had no power, no doubt being sincere; but those, who had power, showing when they were in possession of it, that they thought lightly, indeed, of his claims and services: for the very monument in the cathedral of Norwich he is indebted to the generous admiration of his generous character of a high tory dean, more than any other individuals whatever; for it was the Dean of Norwich who first suggested this last mark of respect to this amiable and accomplished man: fine gold indeed at least in personal affection was exchanged for brass; and with the exception of Lord Albemarle and Lord Mulgrave, of whose kindness the Bishop hardly seemed sufficiently sensible, not a whig man of distinction attempted any thing which could show a sufficient and proper sense of the compensation which his services from the popular party merited. And indeed, independently of all results of advantage,

or otherwise, the question again recurs—could the Bishop's friend and pupil at all events be to blame, opposed as he was conscientiously in opinions to the Bishop; and might he not inwardly think that the ties of nature are of more certain obligation than any political conviction? And might he not ask, did the first Brutus deserve serious commendation, when he sacrificed his son to military discipline? and did the last Brutus endear himself to mankind by killing Cæsar? Posterity will surely at least be divided: Cæsar might not deserve the death of a tyrant, and he certainly deserved the consideration of Brutus as a friend! O human virtue! God alone can effectually lighten our darkness in extreme cases, at least where the great principles of a generous nature are in conflict with each other; and yet shall we sit with our hands before us, and take no part? shall we not at least endeavour to arrive at some clear conclusion?

In the abstract, the community is undoubtedly to be preferred to the individual; and even selfishness seems to suggest that the wrongs of our country may soon come home to our own bosoms, hearths, and altars. But can we strip virtue of mortality? can sympathy with what has the claim of gratitude and particular affections upon us be struck out from the links of duty? If it can, is it

consistent with our being here? what is suited to a better state of existence, may not that same thing be questionable as to duty here? The obligations under which the Bishop lay to his noble relative were great and positive, and in a matter of political opinion as to time and expediency, or even principle, might not (some may ask) he have submitted without meanness to his patron, and perhaps without minutely looking at circumstances? The question may be answered in the affirmative. But looking at the notice taken of a partial inconsistency charged upon him by Dr. Randolph, Bishop of London, and replied to a speech found in the Bishop's own handwriting and inserted in the Appendix; and looking at the pamphlet, which three years before he was a Bishop he had dedicated to Lord Grenville, though by Lord G.'s advice he had abstained from publishing; and considering the great liberality of opinion which associated itself with all his early studies, and the knowledge that Lord B.'s great friend the minister, (Mr. Pitt,) to whom the Bishop through Lord B. owed his elevation, had only withheld his public support to the great measure of Catholic emancipation out of deference, and surely an unconstitutional deference, to the individual will of the King, who could never honour him for holding office upon the terms of

suppressing his conscientious convictions in the discharge of those duties, to perform which a minister holds office :—considering all these things, and moreover that Lord Grenville appeared as warm an advocate and a friend of the Bishop nearly as Lord Bathurst himself, had not the Bishop a reason for action, which rarely can be pleaded under similar circumstances? and viewing his decision in all its bearings, can he be charged justly with ingratitude or vanity? Surely not, even granting generally that the triumph of patriotism over personal obligations is suspicious.

But still the question again arises, should a man sacrifice the interests of his family, and against the advice of the very friend (Lord Grenville), for the sake of supporting a general question, on which the best men seemed so much divided? and would it have been a destitution of his duty to have remained silent at least, and neuter? In reply to this question, it may be observed, that circumstances might have turned out differently. The friends of Catholic emancipation might have succeeded earlier, and the Bishop's worldly interests, instead of being backened, might have been forwarded; so that the utmost that can be charged to him on

this score, as blame, is, that the chances were clearly against him; and being so, the particular reasons just given to back his general convictions and sense of duty (the main-spring of all he felt and did), and to induce him to act thereupon, became highly creditable to his sense of honour and integrity.

It certainly is very remarkable, that the late Mr. Granville Sharp should have predicted, so decisively as he did predict, the most disastrous consequences to the Bishop's family, from the line of public conduct, as to the Catholics, which he adopted, and is one of those extraordinary instances of prediction and event where no extraordinary agency is concerned which sometimes occurs. The neglect and even contempt most undeservedly, which his family seem to have experienced from those in general to whom they had some right, at least, to look for consolation and support, is perhaps the most mortifying consideration; but the results to the family from deficiency in those pecuniary resources connected with a certain situation in society and certain reasonable pretensions, — and which in the case of the invaluable young man, the Bishop's son Robert, who fell a victim to worldly circumstances, of which his

father's means held out no prospect of effectual relief,—and the deteriorated condition of other members of his family, compared with the prosperous affairs of the Tomlines, the Sumners, the Blomfields, and others, including even the good Archbishop, yet who could on no account have equal claims with Dr. Bathurst, are ingredients in the cup of his life which taste most bitter; and the weak, weak bonds of party connexion, as substitutes for the ties of blood and every friendship and obligation, afford materials for deep reflection, whether prudence should not deeply ponder with a public character,—whether in standing forth the champion of mankind, the duty towards God and our neighbour can be reconciled by preferring general to particular objects, our country to our homes and our children, who are the dearest constituents of country. Cicero has averred that our country comprehends all these charities; but of Cicero it may be said—

*Larga quidem, Drances! semper tibi copia fandi
Tùm cum bella manus poscunt:*

and that he could compromise with Cæsar when in power, though he preferred a republic to the empire of a single man: and yet “*patria quæ hosce omnes caritates unâ complectitur*” is a great sentiment; and he who can act upon such

a high social principle, and still more, who can make mankind the object of his exertion, at the risk of sacrificing what he really loves individually more than all the world, must be considered, in spite of all calumny, which would lessen virtue by imputing love of popularity, as the evidence of a great and commanding mind.

Whether the love of popularity, or, to use a milder phrase, the desire of the good-will of his fellow-creatures, operated with more than due force on the mind of this distinguished prelate, it is impossible to say, unless the inmost recesses of the heart were more open than they can be to a fellow-mortal ; but whether it be just and right altogether to consult the more remote objects of charity and affection, when they cannot be consulted without material detriment to nearer ties, is a question which it is not necessary at great length to discuss. It appears certainly, that the world moves on in general upon a supposition that each part and spring of the great machine operates with peculiar and positive energy upon those other parts and springs which are most directly near them ; and that though there is a connexion ultimately between every part and spring, yet that if it were possible for fire to heat the farthest part of a room more than those the nearest to it, or for the stomach to throw its powers of digestion and

nourishment into the fingers or bones, rather than into the nobler parts adjoining to it, the whole system of nature and the economy of the universe would be disturbed : and if the application of the rules of private welfare and special interest be intended by Providence to act with that force with which it usually operates, we may at least see that the real respect and kindness which mankind return to such characters as the Bishop of Norwich, for the extraordinary interest taken in them generally, is so small and so inefficient, as to make it doubtful whether such excessive regard to distant objects be consistent with the general intentions of Providence displayed in the workings of our moral nature.

But as this must be mere conjecture, and clearly has Selfishness as an advocate, we may fairly say upon these very admissions, is it not clear that the subject of this memoir was a man entitled not only to the praise of goodness, but to the applause due to a great character ? for he sacrificed great and distinguished worldly advantages for the conviction of his honest mind, as regarded the general interests and happiness of others. Unimpeachable in every positively serious part of private conduct and character, he shines forth as a star to guide public men in a dark and selfish world.

It was some consolation, upon looking back to the life of that great ornament of mankind and of

the Church, Archbishop Fenelon, to discover considerable traces of resemblance, not only in the characters, but in the fortunes of these prelates. It was not in the power of George III. or George IV. to banish the Bishop of Norwich from Court, but he absented himself, of his own accord, from company which had nothing congenial to his own feelings and principles. The frowns of power were upon Fenelon for recommending moderation towards the Protestants, and on the Bishop of Norwich for recommending justice towards the Catholics: they were, both alike, neglected by all the great men of the day, who temporised with power either through a mistaken or a selfish policy. The Bishop of Norwich did not write a *Telemachus*; but his conversations and his public declarations of sentiment, all breathed a kindred feeling; and of both, Voltaire's eulogy will be equally true: "He was a most charming man; he had a heart naturally tender, with a quick and lively imagination, and a mind much cultivated; he was a man of taste, and preferred the affecting and sublime in divinity to what was morose and difficult; his imagination was warmed with candour and virtue, as others are influenced by their passions; he loved God purely for himself."

And in some circumstances the English may be

said to excel the French prelate, namely, in the peculiar circumstance of having been placed in a situation which, though high in the Church, was principally valuable in a temporal point of view, as leading in ordinary course to a situation of more advantage to his family, and less labour to himself; and inasmuch as he yet chose to forego all these prospects, in which too his family, to whom he was tenderly attached, would have shared more than himself. He acted and spoke under the plain and direct intimation of political ban and interdict; and if the threats and expositions of weaker minds could have availed, he was threatened by Mr. Granville Sharp (when calling one morning on purpose, soon after the Bishop's first public *début* as the champion of the Catholics) with the choicest vengeance of heaven upon his public conduct, both for himself and his children. But they who remember the words of the psalmist will find plentiful consolation against such anathemas,—“I have been young and now am old, yet have I never seen the *righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread.*”

CHAPTER XI.

Recapitulation and conclusion.

HAVING viewed the subject of this memoir as a man, a father, a husband, a Christian minister, a bishop, as a scholar and divine, as a member of society, and as a friend, mark then, now ! (amid the doubts, the fears, and the exceptions which have been advanced,) the *rise*, the *progress*, and the *results* of the line of conduct taken, as a public character, by this distinguished prelate. From early youth we see him of a generous and unshackled spirit, rising superior to the prejudices and party (however natural) of a father who was a steady Jacobite, and who respected the rights of kings to reign as divine, and surmounting boldly and avowing his contempt of such slavish notions : we then see him indefatigable at school, elevated by the deepest tincture of classical literature, (the result of intense industry and uncommon memory,) water-

ing from the fountains of Greece and Rome, and the most liberal writers of the age in which he himself lived, the young plants and products of his early mind. Stinted from his father's poverty, who was too generous and had too large a family (thirty-six children) to be rich, he struggled through the first years of youthful manhood at New College; and on his father's death, rather than be the least burthen to his mother, we see him going as tutor into a family, where his good conduct and credit recommended him to the notice of his uncle Allen Lord Bathurst; with whom for some years he read aloud, becoming an inmate of his uncle's family. We then see him, instead of being brow-beaten by the collection of tory great men, including Mr. Hume, Lord Clive, and Lord Bolingbroke, whom he met there, and instead of being warped by tory maxims, which he must have heard there, silently nourishing the seeds and sentiments of liberty in his bosom, under all these disadvantages as to their peculiar culture. We afterwards see him in a tory university and highly aristocratical college (Christ-church), moving in his academical sphere, attaching early the minds of students, not only such as his invaluable pupil Lord Apsley, but men like Lord Grenville and Lord Wellesley (choicest spirits all of scholarship and talent), to him, ad-

nired for his attainments, beloved for his virtues, and respected for his conduct, ever taking the side of mercy and benevolence, and kindness and charity; and even so far back as the dissolution of the ministry of Mr. Fox and Lord North, journeying into Norfolk to vote for Mr. Coke, in spite of the grumbling of his friend and patron the Chancellor Earl Bathurst, son of his uncle Allen Lord B. We by-and-bye see him refusing the Irish mitre, with the prospect of the primacy, from motives which appear to have been really honourable and generous, and congenial to his kind and liberal views of public policy, viz., the fear of being mixed up with those violent councils which followed the removal of Earl Fitzwilliam from the vice-royalty of Ireland. We then see him happy and cheerful in his family, useful in his calling, and universally beloved by the city of Durham and the neighbourhood of that city, where he lived for ten years, filling a prebendal stall: and lastly we see him emerging, through the patronage of his unwearied friend the late Earl Bathurst, (son of Chancellor Bathurst, and father of the present Earl,) into the sphere of episcopal duties and of public life; and here, though at first naturally pausing between the feelings of respect and gratitude for his patron and benefactor, and what he deemed to be his duty to his God, his country,

and mankind, we see him boldly take his ground, and declare his readiness to sacrifice further worldly advancement, rather than not support what he conceived to be the cause of justice and of civil and religious liberty. We see him passed by, calumniated and vilified by many, treated by one or two of his brother Bishops with indignity, or at least with little ceremony, and finally triumphing over all obstacles by the possession, if not of the see of Canterbury, Durham, or Winchester, at least of the hearts of the public and of all who knew him or had heard of him; how much soever many great and rich ones, professing much and doing nothing, in those moments when the heart ought to have been most affected, may show the inconsistency of human nature. We have seen him with eloquence and vigour asserting the rights of fellow-Christians of all denominations in the hour of their adversity, and the subjection—the legitimate subjection—of all human institutions to the general good. We see him then, though thus elevated above the common standard of humanity, suffering in his own person during what was called the liberal administration of Mr. Canning, and again in the person of his son in the Church, (who had humbly endeavoured to follow his father's steps, his precepts, and his example,) the same *proscription*

from the *whigs* which *he had* from the *tories* *suffered* himself; and yet (such was his happy temper on all great occasions) more delighted with the solitary act of justice done to his son the General, than vexed by neglect experienced in other matters which he had vainly hoped from time to time would be repaired. From courts and governments, however, lies an appeal to the country and to posterity; and the writer of this memoir feels confident that they will do full though tardy justice, and show by every support of this record, and every kindness to those whom this good prelate has left behind, and who were dear to him in life, that

The remembrance of the just

Will be found to smell sweet, and blossom in the dust.

For they will, at least those who are *real* friends to civil and religious liberty, remember that this amiable and enlightened man, this unfettered prelate, this holy pioneer of futurity, having for thirty years as bishop laboured in the advocacy of liberal and mild, social and political principles, at last lived to see them triumph, and triumph by the very voice and support of those who had proscribed him, and afterwards who became themselves converts; a reward which his descendants will proudly admit, while they lament

the alienated or cold affections of the kindest friend and patron that a man ever had ; and still more, that this loss was so poorly supplied by the practical honour and gratitude of those who professed to admire his conduct, and to espouse his principles : and they will pray, with pious reliance that the prayer may be accepted by God, that in that happy region where the dust is wiped off from the mirror of our souls, two hearts, which in affection ought never to have been for a moment estranged, may (their misapprehensions being done away, and their faculties mutually expanded, and their judgments in all things made perfect,) be restored to each other in that angelic society where is peace and satisfaction for ever in the presence of him in whose presence is the fulness of joy, and at the right hand of him at whose right hand are pleasures for evermore.

To those who are bigoted so far against the Roman Catholic religion as to believe that it is a heinous religious offence to promote that which can extend its influence or add to its power, and who believe in the inflictions of marked judgments upon individuals whose conduct does not square with their own apprehensions of right, the singular fulfilment of the late Mr. Granville Sharp's prediction, that God would visit the

Bishop's family with the heaviest calamities if he persevered in his support of the Catholics, which he had undertaken, may appear to be evidence that the Bishop's public life was displeasing to Providence, inasmuch as among many blessings signal and heavy visitations marked, subsequently to his first enlisting himself as the champion in this cause, the remaining years of his life. The singular and marked inattention and indifference too displayed by Catholics in general, (of which, if it were worth while, abundant proofs could be given,) except in the year 1812, when a great party dinner in Dublin was got up for the Bishop, which did a great deal more harm than good, would seem to some a most singularly apt retribution for the neglect of the political connexion of his friend and patron Lord Bathurst, who placed him in the see of Norwich ; and especially when it is remembered, to the best of the knowledge of him who has edited this memoir, that either when the Bishop was dying, or when he was dead, not a single Catholic in London, with the exception of Mr. H. W. Barron, and the most consistent and kind attentions, from first to last, of Lieutenant-Colonel O'Reilly, (whom the editor did not, till since this memoir was nearly transcribed, know to be a Roman Catholic,) though the Bishop's near approaching end was daily for a

fortnight announced in the public papers, that not a Catholic, with the above exceptions, (and if there be any mistake, let those who can prove it to be so point it out,) ever sent to inquire after him when dying, or wrote a note, or called in person, or sent a kind inquiry after his family when he was dead : and this the writer of these pages can truly say, that except the kindness of the Earl of Kenmare in 1812 to him and Mrs. B., when at Killarney, and the above-named two instances, the writer is not aware of any attention or kindness to the Bishop or his family in the smallest degree worth noticing for twenty-six years past, from any Roman Catholic of any rank and consequence, either in England or Ireland, from the Duke of Norfolk to Mr. O'Connell ;—to say nothing of a Chancery suit set on foot by a Catholic family, whereby a few thousands of pounds left by a near relative deceased have been kept back from the Bishop's family above nine years, and never yet been paid ; and respecting which, Mr. O'Connell, when written to by the family, did not answer their letters, and was according to credible information actually engaged as appellant's counsel in the House of Lords, (to which those Catholics pushed an appeal, and were defeated,) though Mr. O'Connell did not plead, but had a substitute. And yet, from the first,

Catholics are more indebted to the Bishop of Norwich than to Mr. O'Connell by far, for the success of Catholic emancipation, so far as the gradual and silent influence of public opinion is connected therewith: whereas Mr. O'Connell, from the date of that success, did never once call upon the Bishop of Norwich, never returned the visits of his son, or answered his letter on the important business above alluded to: why, at least, did he not try to act as mediator, or at least show, by a kind answer to letters on the subject, some sympathy with those towards whom common good feeling and gratitude would have dictated that sympathy? and while that distinguished individual is so active in the parliament-house, would it not have been at least becoming to have moved in the House of Commons for some tribute from a liberal parliament, to the memory of the only Bishop, who was in the advance-guard of a more liberal spirit in the institutions of the country, by defraying the expense of a monument in Norwich Cathedral, instead of leaving the expense as a tax on friends, and as a compliment, actually emanating from a generous high tory Dean, the Dean of Norwich, Dr. Pellew. Lord Ebrington was written to upon this subject, and declined interference, declaring that it would not be possible to carry such a vote as that pro-

posed in favour of the Bishop, in the House of Commons: “*sic transit gloria mundi* ;” and “*hi nostri reditus expectatique triumph!*” But the kingdom of Christ is not of this world. The balance of these things, be it remembered, is to be made up in that great day of retribution, when the just shall be proved to be had in everlasting remembrance, and shall shine like the stars of the firmament for ever and ever: and the recollection of Dr. Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich, even in this world, shall be handed down to posterity, as the memorial of a solitary Bishop in the first part of the nineteenth century, who in his position as a prelate of England distinguished himself by the bold individuality of his character, marching ever in advance of human opinion, even then rapidly progressive; leading the way to a larger sense of the rights of our fellow-men, in opposition to principalities and powers, and, as many will add, to spiritual wickedness in high places; advocating the cause of the human race, pleading in behalf of the afflicted and oppressed, under institutions not sufficiently in accordance in their operation with justice and the claims of true religion itself: and it may be said of him, as justly as it is of Melancthon,—“If the
“ Christian world could but produce ten such
“ men, ten persons of a similar stamp and cast of

“ thinking, *συμφράδμονες*, (as Homer says,) I
“ should not doubt (the eulogist of Melancthon
“ adds) that the kingdom of Christ would in
“ some measure be restored.”

ONE WORD MORE TO THE PUBLIC.

And now having arrived at the conclusion of this work, except as to what is included in the Appendix, with a view to confirm the impressions which have been made by the conduct of individuals and parties upon the compiler at least of this memoir, who refers to the public for their verdict, and to justify still further the views here taken, it only remains to offer some apology, on the part of a son, for having ventured thus boldly to criticise and lay open the particulars, as well those which appear less commendable, as those which appear so singularly honourable in the life of such a father, who on account of his many excellent qualities (as the noble Earl Cornwallis declared, when giving his name as a subscriber distinctly to the memoir of him as prebendary of Durham, that is, as a man in general, rather than as bishop of Norwich,) was an honour to our nature. The apology shall be this—that whereas

that son never knew of another individual whose questionable points could bear such exposure ; so that son, being convinced that besides what is here related, there was no speck in his conduct, manners, or character, and therefore nothing to conceal or omit, he therefore boldly gives to the public a picture with a glorious light, and so few or so slight shades, that the very shades themselves render the light more effective : behind yon dark cloud or yon concealing mountain there is something in most landscapes which the painter would wish to hide—*here* is every brake and brier open to the view, illustrating more strikingly the general beauty, the noble trees, ay, and those flowers too, which, like the amaranth, do grow in heaven, and palms such as are not unworthy of Paradise, whose leaves are said in 2nd Esdras to form the crowns of those who have put off their mortal and put on their immortal clothing, and have confessed the name of God. A great French writer has said, that he for once would give the life of an individual as it really was and without disguise : whether he has edified mankind or not by his strange attempt, the world has probably long since formed an opinion : the author of this memoir has, he believes, been as faithful a biographer as was that extraordinary writer alluded to, but he has had a different

subject, and one that contained a heart quite as large, and was blest with what the other had not—a well-regulated mind and imagination ; nor would he have undertaken the task, did he not feel that he had materials which would bear the light, and which, when arranged either casually or in order, would compose a character of which both a family and a nation may be proud.

The very insolence and ingratitude with which the compiler of this work, and his father's memory in his person, has been treated, tends to throw an increasing interest on the scenes and events described. The subject of this memoir was the ecclesiastical leader of the forlorn hope of civil and religious liberty to millions—the propounder of this memoir you may call, reader, if you please, nothing but his stirrup-holder—or, if you choose to compare the father to a Columbus or a Gama only, on a voyage of discovery of moral and social climates in which the moral and social dignity and happiness of mankind may grow to a size and stature, since the earliest youth of the world, unknown, it will be pride enough for him if he can say,

Yet shall my little bark attendant sail,
Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale.

And the public will learn a yet necessary and

never-to-be-forgotten lesson from the comparison of whig and tory conduct herein illustrated : namely, how generous and liberal, and kind and honourable, a tory may be ; how evasive, ungrateful, and ungenerous a whig may prove, and how unconstitutional, if he has no better plea for the desertion of a friend, and thereby the compromise of his principle, than the personal will of the Sovereign, who, by the felicitous maxim of the constitution, can do no wrong ; how pleasing that there are among tories men like the late Earl Bathurst, whether right or wrong in public measures, with the same friendship, simplicity, candour, and affection ; how consolatory that there are among whigs such men as the Earl of Albemarle and the Earl of Mulgrave, and, with all his coldness and height, even as Earl Grey also,—as, upon the whole, he is seen, at least, in concert with the consistent and highly-respected brother of the late Lord Grenville, with the veteran whigs Lord Dundas and Sir Robert Harland, and the Patroclus of the age, (as the Bishop beautifully calls him,) Earl Spencer ;—allowing for the feelings of the editor of this record, and upholding in the face of the spite of almost a whole ministry calling themselves liberal, the just right of one who feels himself injured by the acts of public men, to plead his father's, and thereby his own,

cause with the public, by becoming subscribers to this work ! happy also is the editor to be able to add the name of Lord Holland, who clearly has a heart ; and if there is any thing in this work which is of questionable nature, let the writer (he in return begs) alone bear the blame. A whig government, and especially Lord Melbourne, has left no alternative to the editor but either to submit meanly in silence to the conduct experienced, or to avail himself of the opportunity of appeal ; and if there be really any ground for suspicion that the wishes, claims, and interests of such a man as the late Bishop of Norwich have been unconstitutionally sacrificed, the result of the exposure here made may, even if the exposor of these matters be sacrificed, not be unserviceable to future advisers of the Crown ; and if the charge against whigs in power be merely answered by allegations of superior claims to those of the Bishop of Norwich in the Church, then the writer is equally confident as to the verdict of posterity ; and, be it as it may, “ he will stand the hazard of the die.”

The public, indeed, cannot omit to observe that tories like the Archbishop of York, who subscribes to this memoir, and who, it may here be noted, declared that the late Bishop of Norwich was “ one of the most amiable men he ever knew,” and like Earl Cornwallis, who, wholly

apart from his politics, which his Lordship disapproved, considered him an "honour to our nature," have shown that liberality, real liberality, is not confined to party; which observation may also be further verified by the amiable interference of Earl Grey in the matter of the epitaph, and the alteration made in consequence by the writer thereof, under a conviction that his father would have (were he able to communicate on the subject) approved of submission to Earl Grey's suggestion. Nor will the public fail to notice, that, while an administration grounding their pretensions to public support upon their advocacy of justice to Ireland have omitted to recommend to the House of Commons to defray the expense of a monument in the cathedral at Norwich in honour of Ireland's only ecclesiastical martyr, and the episcopal champion not only of Ireland, but of the liberties of mankind; that this monument has been set on foot at individual expense by the efforts of a conservative dean, while that very administration at home was so entirely deaf to the expressed wishes and wants of the Bishop and his family in the hour of their distress, and when two branches of that family were in circumstances of partial and comparative, and one branch of very serious distress; that they did not even notice with a consoling message, or note, or expression,

direct or indirect, even the death and much less the interests of their champion prelate. No !
“ These friends of ‘justice to Ireland’ had not
“ even patience to wait till the champion prelate
“ of Ireland was buried ; but, even before he was
“ interred, hastened to appoint a *private clergy-*
“ *man*, of no special note, over the head of his
“ son, who had been twenty-three years arch-
“ deacon in the diocese of Norwich, most kindly
“ treated by the clergy, a scholar, and a gentle-
“ man, and who had been the only person in his
“ situation who had for years, in support of his
“ father and of ‘*justice to Ireland,*’ rallied a
“ respectable body of clergy, and embodied their
“ petition in the cause of Ireland ; and this (for
“ that son neither expected nor wished to be
“ Bishop of Norwich) without one word of kind-
“ ness, one suggestion of a wish, when other
“ opportunity should offer to serve him, at least
“ in some way, much less with any expression of
“ regret at having so long neglected him.”

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above was put to the press, the Archdeacon has been put in possession of a letter from Lord Melbourne, in which Lord Melbourne declares, in the following words, that "he does not consider that there is the shadow of an imputation upon his (the Archdeacon's) character, or that there is any thing to detract from the general respect and estimation in which he always has been, and still continues to be, held:"—and this letter is dated 22nd September, 1837. Here then is the completest reproof ever given to a minister and by himself; for as to general qualifications, &c., besides character, the Archdeacon can proudly appeal to the kindness and support he has for twenty-three years received from the large body of clergy (above 300) in his archdeaconry, with whom during twenty three years he has never experienced the smallest manifestation like that which was made at the injudicious *début* of the Bishop who has been so *unceremoniously*, (as a compliment to the memory of the late Bishop, the subject of this memoir, and

as a reward for his services and those of his son in behalf of justice to Ireland,) and without one word of comfort, been placed over the Archdeacon's head, to watch over him,—and by Lord Melbourne, whose watch-word is “Justice to Ireland.”

APPENDIX.

It was the full intention of the editor to have inserted copies of correspondence with different individuals now or late in power, showing, as it was in his power, how hardly he has been treated by them, after all the kind anxieties of his father in his behalf: but the strong remonstrances of his friends, and especially one very intelligent and near connexion, have prevailed with him to suppress that matter, even though the admissions of his decided claims by two or three of the leading men in power would have placed him on a vantage-ground; and, instead of the said matter, the editor gives the following pamphlet of his father's, never before published, and addressed to Lord Grenville in 1804, and alluded to already, only omitting certain documents referred

to therein at length, and which may be seen by reference to original authorities. It was the editor's intention to have left out this pamphlet altogether, but it is so strong a proof of the Bishop's devotion to the cause for which he sacrificed so much, that it appears on further consideration that it ought not to be omitted: it is a standing testimony to posterity of his zeal in the cause, and of his research. The following was the same letter which Lord Grenville advised him to suppress for the sake of his family, as the Court was so opposed to the measure therein recommended in 1804. The knowledge of this pamphlet may also efface any traces of dissatisfaction in his noble relative's family, to whom he was so much indebted, when it is seen in what a peculiar situation this pamphlet had placed him.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
L O R D G R E N V I L L E,

an enlightened, firm, and cordial friend to the constitution of his country both in Church and State, and to the civil and religious liberties of his countrymen, of every denomination,

The following Letter is addressed,
With deference, affection, and gratitude,
BY THE AUTHOR.

My Lord,

The author of the following letter, though under great obligations to your Lordship, is not induced by personal motives to address you on the present occasion, but by a far more important consideration,—by the conviction which he feels, that a subject affecting the interest of so many thousand individuals, as well as the honour and prosperity of the united kingdom, is with peculiar propriety inscribed to a nobleman whose comprehensive understanding and benevolent heart make him both a competent judge and willing patron of a cause, upon the issue of which the future peace and happiness of Ireland, and consequently of this country, very materially depend.

Modern historians of high, and, in general, well-deserved credit, when speaking of the various modes of religious worship which prevailed in the heathen world, dwell with a marked complacency on the liberal *toleration* enjoyed indiscriminately by all of them, and celebrate the uninterrupted peace and concord, which, according to their account, were the fruits of so enlightened a system. That such would have been the fruits had this system been adopted, there can be little reason to doubt; but unfortunately it is no difficult task to produce from ancient authors a long list of passages, which prove undeniably that the experiment was never even attempted either in ancient or in modern times. I have however a more interesting object in view, and shall therefore only bring forward a few plain facts, which sufficiently invalidate the truth of an assertion which is repeatedly insisted upon by Gibbon and other eminent writers, for no purpose whatsoever but to insinuate that the hateful and absurd doctrine of religious persecution is *subsequent* to the introduction of Christianity, and owes its origin solely to the speculative doctrines of our holy faith,—an assertion which unquestionably is far from being true. In all ages and in all countries the mistaken idea that *uniformity* of opinion in matters of religion, however *desirable* it may be, is indis-

pensably *necessary* to the peace and safety of a state,—and that *we*, and those of *our* persuasion, are the only judges of what opinions are true and orthodox,—have proved invariably, and must always prove, the parents of an exclusive, disqualifying, persecuting system.

A Test Act was in force at Athens. The twelve tables expressly forbade the introduction of a new Deity:—*separatim nemo habessit Deos, neve novos, sed ne advenas, nisi publicè adscitos, privatim colunto*. And we are informed, that for some time no one could teach a school at Rome, without a licence from the senate and people. In Livy there is a remarkable observation made by a senator of distinction, which is in direct opposition to every idea of unlimited toleration:—*indicabant semper*, says Posthumius, *prudentissimi viri, nihil æquè dissolvendæ religionis esse, quàm si non patrio sed externo ritu sacrificaretur*. Among the Egyptians an intolerant spirit was almost proverbial.

Numina vicinorum

Odit uterque locus, cum solos credit habendos
Esse Deos quos ipse colit.

Even the humane Plato speaks of fines and penalties, as indispensably necessary to secure the established religion against the inroads of impiety. To all this may be added the condemnation of

Socrates, which Xenophon says was principally founded upon the charge alleged against him of introducing καὶ δαιμόνια; and Valerius Maximus confirms the truth of this representation:—*Athenienses Socratem damnaverunt, quod novam religionem introducere videbatur.* And it may further be observed, that it was a Christian, not a Pagan emperor, who enacted the following equitable law:—*unicuique quod animo imbibisset colendi libera facultas tribuatur.*

I should not have made this display of quotation, which will, I fear, appear to your Lordship pedantic or irrelevant, if the historian of the Roman empire, and the other writers alluded to, had been satisfied with merely bestowing praise where no praise is due, and had not exclusively loaded with the guilt and folly of intolerance a religion, the leading characteristic of which is love, and which breathes through every page of it “peace and good-will towards men.”—“Ye know not what spirit ye are of,” says the Divine Author of this religion with an unusual tone of severity to two of his disciples, who discovered an ill-governed zeal towards persons of a different communion, upon an occasion wherein they erroneously conceived that the honour of their Master was at stake.

This and many other instances to be met with

in the New Testament evince most decidedly the unconfined and liberal tendency of that revelation, which our Redeemer came down from heaven to make known to us. Let it then never be asserted, that the contentious disputes, which have embittered human life as much as they have disgraced religion, are owing, in any degree, to an institution which inculcates most earnestly forbearance, candour, and charity. If, contrary to the nature and design of Christianity, some of its professors have at any time promoted by their sentiments or conduct those religious animosities which have been productive of more crimes and more follies than all our vices and all our errors put together, let the angry passions of men,—let their ignorance, their narrow bigotry, their pride, and their impatience of contradiction, be responsible for so melancholy an effect. Never let it be said, for it cannot be said with truth, that the purblind prejudices of mistaken zeal derive the smallest authority from the precepts or example of that meek and humble Teacher who bequeathed peace to his followers as the best legacy he could leave them.

But to return to the more immediate subject of this letter. The Roman Catholics of Ireland, though grateful for the repeal of various severe penal statutes, yet complain, and, as it appears to

me, very justly, that many of the common *civil* rights of good and loyal subjects still continue to be withholden from them on account of their *religious* creed, notwithstanding they have proved in the most unexceptionable manner their willingness to give the same or at least equal security to government for their *civil* conduct, which is required from those who are members of the established church; though they contribute equally with the latter to the support of the State, and have renounced every opinion, from an adherence to which, their exclusion from offices of trust or profit, whether civil or military, can alone be justified. The clearest principles of abstract reason demonstrate the *justice* of their claim, under such circumstances, to a full enjoyment, or, to speak more accurately, to a *capacity* of enjoying all civil and military advantages whatsoever: and the present situation of affairs in Ireland points out to every man of sense and reflection the *policy* of granting them that impartial and complete toleration, the possession of which is the natural and anxious wish of their hearts, even if the *justice* of the measure could be for a moment doubted. I use the expression "*impartial* and *complete* toleration," in opposition to that more *confined* idea of toleration which seems hitherto to have suggested to the legislature little more in

favour of this proscribed sect, than *impunity* and *protection* in the exercise of their religious worship, by repealing some penal statutes, the severity of which admitted of no defence. The distinction between these two kinds of toleration is marked out, with his usual perspicuity and force, by an amiable and able philosopher and divine not long since dead;—"To allow Dissenters the unmolested profession and exercise of their religion, but with an exclusion from *offices* of trust and emolument, is a *partial* toleration; to admit them without distinction to all the *civil* privileges and capacities of other citizens, is a *complete* toleration." I shall endeavour to show that the Catholics of Ireland are entitled upon every principle of justice, to toleration in the *last*-mentioned sense of the word, and that even were this not the case, it would be *prudent*, attending only to the maxims of *worldly policy*, to try the effect of such indulgence. I do not mean to enter into any discussion of the much-talked-of *natural rights* of men, because we have had within these few years by far too much vague and dangerous declamation respecting these rights; and the consideration of them appears to me entirely foreign to the present question, as we are not, fortunately for us, living in a *state* of *nature*, and cannot therefore have any thing to do with the subject; but under every

well-regulated government, all who have an equal attachment to the *civil* constitution of that government, and are ready to give *satisfactory proof* of this attachment, are equally entitled to all *civil rights*. Justice forbids partiality. Among these *civil rights* are usually and justly ranked those objects of laudable ambition or of fair self-interest which active minds naturally aspire to ; such, for instance, as offices of trust or emolument, whether *civil* or *military*, under the government of which they are subjects. Should it be remarked, that the objects which I specify are not *rights* but *favours*, my answer is, (as I have already explained myself,) that when I speak of an equal title to civil rights, I mean an equal *capacity* of enjoying these rights. *Civil incapacities*, therefore, on account of *religious* opinions, which are followed by no *overt* act, which begin in the understanding and rest there, are obviously *unjust*, and for this incontrovertible reason,—no man can *justly* be punished but for a *crime* : a conscientious and quiet dissent from the doctrines or discipline of any particular church is certainly no crime, and consequently not a proper object of punishment. Was it ever said or thought by any man of sense and candour, that the learned, the virtuous, the conscientious Chillingworth was guilty of a *crime* in quitting the Church of England, or that he was

less firmly attached to the civil government of his country after he took this resolution, than before he took it? But idolatry is undoubtedly a *crime*, and so is ingratitude, but (in modern times at least) no law hath ever been enacted against it. I make this apparent concession, admitting for a moment, what no well-informed man will venture seriously to affirm, that persons of education among the Catholics are, strictly speaking, guilty of idolatry,—an imputation which that incomparable divine, and very sensible and honest man, Jeremy Taylor, considers as harsh and illiberal in his ‘*Liberty of Prophesying*,’—a work written a hundred and fifty years since, when toleration was neither understood nor practised in any part of Europe. To say, as “answerers by profession” sometimes do, that exclusion from civil and military offices is no *punishment*, no *persecution*, is an idle play upon a word, or rather a contemptible evasion of a clear and conclusive argument. The man who makes the assertion doth not believe it. Call it *penalty*, *disqualification*, *disability*, what you please,—it comes to the same point. The real fact is this: among the members of the established church there are some who contend earnestly for a *monopoly* of what are commonly called “the good things of this world,” because they have power sufficient to *retain the possession of them*;

and there lurks about too many others of this description a secret, deep-rooted prejudice, which prompts them, in spite of reason, experience, and historical information, to conclude hastily, that every individual who dislikes the *ecclesiastical* system of discipline or doctrine which obtains in a country, is therefore, of course, unfriendly to the civil constitution of that country; a conclusion, than which nothing can be more false in facts or more weak in argument,—a conclusion, which, if true, could prove that the episcopalians are dangerous in Scotland, that the revocation of the edict of Nantz by Louis XIV. was a wise and prudent measure, and that the Arminians formerly in the republic of Holland were, upon good grounds, excluded by the Calvinistic party from all civil situations of responsibility or profit: it is, in short, to bring together and to confound things as distinct in their nature, and as remote from each other, as heaven and earth. But Prejudice attends neither to the deductions of reason nor to the lessons of experience: tell her, that the Catholic who adds five sacraments to the two ordained by Christ himself, if “he live soberly and godly,” is a better man and a better subject than a Protestant who neglects his baptismal vow, and commemorates the death of his Redeemer in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper,

without either true faith or real repentance, and without a due sense of gratitude and love for all which that Redeemer hath done and suffered for him; tell her, that the same person who believes *that* to be the body of Christ, which our eyes and taste demonstrably prove to be bread alone, may notwithstanding be full as useful to the public, either in the senate or the field, as the man whose religious creed is more agreeable to every rational method of interpreting Scripture, more consonant with the principles of sound philosophy and with the maxims of common sense,—Prejudice regards not what you say: your truly Christian purposes of charity and compliance pass with her for imbecility or indifference to all religion; and she persists obstinately and uncharitably in attributing to an inbred corruption of heart, or to a rooted dislike to the civil government of the country, many a merely speculative article of faith, proceeding either from a want of examination or a want of understanding; and more frequently perhaps than either, from that invincible influence of education, strengthened by domestic precepts and example, which in almost all cases seems capable of making even the wisest of us adopt implicitly errors the most irrational and absurd. Fortunately however for such weak and fallible creatures as we are, error is not vice; and the Irish Catholic

who takes the following oath and declaration, be his religious creed almost as bad as uncharitable zeal can represent it, is as well qualified for and as justly entitled to *civil* and *military* offices, as any other Christian of the united kingdom, of whatever denomination.

Then follows the oath and declaration taken by the Catholics of Ireland in 1790.

Then the pamphlet proceeds :—

I have used the phrase “be his religious creed almost as bad,” &c. because I am perfectly aware that there *are*, or rather, I trust, *have* been opinions, assuming the name of religious principles, which strike immediately at the very root not only of all particular governments, but of civil society itself; and are also in direct opposition to those moral rules, without a strict attention to which such society cannot possibly subsist. For principles of this kind no defence can be offered; they are universally allowed to be *justly* punishable by human laws, and the persons who avow them are considered as *justly* excluded from all civil offices: nor have they on this account the least right to complain; because they are not persecuted as mistaken *religionists*, but are punished as “evil doers:” and let such persons belong to what church they may, they are most assuredly

justly punished. *Error* hath a well-founded claim to indulgence; deliberate *wickedness* can have none. The principles to which I chiefly allude are these:—"Faith is not to be observed with heretics:" "subjects are absolved from allegiance to their Sovereign, if this Sovereign be excommunicated by the Pope," &c. If it be, and it certainly is, the great duty of a magistrate to see "*ne quid detrimenti capiat respublica*," and to secure to individuals the undisturbed possession of life, liberty, and property, he is loudly called upon to oppose by every legitimate method such detestable positions: the first of which banishes truth from the face of the earth, and puts an end to all intercourse between man and man; the second introduces a foreign jurisdiction into a country, subversive of its own peculiar laws and constitution. Locke and Bishop Hoadley, those enlightened and cordial friends to religious liberty, did not think it inconsistent with their liberal and conclusive arguments, in favour of *universal toleration*, to assert in the most explicit terms, that maxims of the nature above stated have no claim whatever to mercy, and that the persons who profess them become, by such profession alone, *incapable* of office. The distinguished prelate I have named is particularly decided as to this point: "There are principles," says he, "which, when

avowed and openly professed, do as effectually show the persons embracing them to be in *themselves incapable* of office, and demonstrate that they have not *capacity* for them, as much as *idiotism* or *lunacy*." Be it so; but do the Catholics of our days avow these principles to be any part of *their* religious creed? Just the contrary; "*cessante ratione, cessat lex*." No man of sense believes that Fenelon or Ganganelli affixed precisely the same meaning to the articles of their confession of faith, which Bonner or the Duke of Alva did: to attribute then to the Catholics of *our* days those very exceptionable and dangerous doctrines which disgraced the creed of some of their forefathers, when they have most explicitly and repeatedly renounced these doctrines, is uncandid and uncharitable in the extreme. To object indeed, to any description of men, tenets which they disavow, or to draw from those tenets which they avow, *inferences* and *consequences* which they deny to be either true or consequent, is an indirect species of persecution, as disingenuous as it is cruel. Sir William Blackstone, whose attention to the security of the national church, and whose attachment to the laws and constitution of his country, no one will be disposed to call in question, observes in his Commentaries, that "Papists would be entitled to a

general toleration, provided their separation was founded only upon a difference of opinion in religion, and their principles did not also extend to a subversion of civil government." In another place he adds, with prophetic judgment, "If a time should ever come, and *perhaps it is not very far distant*, when all fears of a pretender shall have vanished, and the power and influence of the Pope shall become feeble, contemptible, and ridiculous, then will be the season for granting to the Roman Catholics a more enlarged toleration." That time is come—there is no pretender to the throne; the power of the Pope in civil affairs is completely at an end; and the Papists of the united kingdom have abjured all opinions which can warrant their exclusion any longer from offices either of a civil or of a military nature. The documents underneath, and many more of the same kind which might easily be produced, prove in the most satisfactory manner the truth of what I have here asserted.

Then follow the oath taken by the Irish Catholics in 1774, and the declaration of the Catholics of Ireland, (Dublin, March 17th, 1792,) which was signed by order and on behalf of the general committee of the Catholics of Ireland,

EDWARD BYRNE, Chairman.

RICHARD M'CORNICK, Secretary.

Plowden, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 179.

A similar declaration, signed by the whole body of the Catholics residing in England, is deposited in the British Museum.

Then are quoted Plowden, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 199. Queries to foreign universities, with their answers.

Then the pamphlet goes on :—

Having now proved, and, as it appears to me, satisfactorily, the *justice* of the claim made by the Roman Catholics of Ireland to be placed on the same footing in *civil* matters with their fellow-subjects of the established church, I should not think it necessary to dwell for a moment upon the *policy* of acceding to their demand, if it were not but too well known that considerations of self-interest will sometimes have weight both with individuals and with nations, when more noble and generous motives are disregarded.

I feel no inclination to copy the dark picture of Irish affairs lately drawn by Mr. Plowden, nor even to adopt the exaggerated ideas of Mr. Burke. That great man, in his usual strain of eloquence, speaking of the Catholics of Ireland, says, “ Till within few years they have laboured under an universal, unmitigated, indispensable, exceptionless disqualification : the very acts which have been passed in their favour have more the appearance of a table of proscription, than an act

of grace." Admitting this statement to be somewhat overcharged, it must notwithstanding be confessed, that England, from the period of the reformation to the year 1782, has little claim upon the *gratitude* of the persons here mentioned ; a system either of undisguised oppression or of concealed jealousy having prevailed during that time with few and those not long intermissions. The religious animosities arising from this unjust and impolitic system tended of course to aggravate and prolong the disorders naturally flowing from an almost total want of civilization. So early as at the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, her counsellors, as we are told by Leland, who discovers in his history no partiality for Catholics, instead of endeavouring to lessen these disorders, appear to have conceived an odious and ill-founded jealousy, which *reconciled* them to the distractions and miseries of Ireland. " Should we exert ourselves," said they, " in reducing this country to order and civility, it must soon acquire power and consequence and riches ; the inhabitants will be thus alienated from England : let us rather connive at their disorders."

The effects of this barbarous and wretched policy are well known ; it is painful to dwell upon them. Neglected or provoked for nearly two centuries by the various legal disabilities

contracted by recusancy, the Irish Catholics have most undoubtedly, at different times, formed very close and dangerous confederations, which, as occasion offered, burst out into outrages of a most alarming nature. These confederations it has proved no easy matter to dissolve, nothing uniting discontented persons so firmly as religious restraints accompanied with fines, penalties, and imprisonment ; which, if these unfortunate people did not always uniformly experience, they were at best exempted from them only by a precarious and temporary connivance.

Since the year 1782 their condition has been very much improved : still however they have many real causes of complaint ; to which, it must be allowed, they have added (especially of late) many imaginary ones. Taking advantage of those real, and, in some cases, as it appears to me, supposed injuries, wicked and visionary leaders have seduced the ignorant, the indigent, and the profligate part of the Papists in Ireland into open rebellion, as we but too well remember. To quell this rebellion, *force* was unavoidably employed ; but in contests of this kind force is unblest and unavailing, or, at least, it is but transient in its effects : so it has proved very remarkably in Ireland, and will still, I fear, continue to prove so. The evil spirit may be

silenced, but it is by no means subdued, nor will intolerance and compulsion ever subdue it; the experiment hath been often tried, and it hath as often failed: surely then, true policy points out the wisdom of having recourse to toleration, lenity, and indulgence. No one will contend that it is wise to continue the use of a remedy which has not only not answered, but has irritated what it was intended to heal: nor can any one think it equitable or politic to restrain, by severe statutes, industrious, sober, loyal subjects, because idle and profligate rebels have disturbed the peace of the community. It is high time to adopt a more just and liberal policy towards the Irish Catholics, and to repeal all those laws, the object of which is either to exclude them from civil and military offices, or to expose them to inconvenience and hardships, merely on account of their religion. However necessary such statutes may in past days have been, they cease to be so now; let then the legislature abolish all degrading and invidious distinctions: let it not rest satisfied merely with repealing penal statutes, but let it restore to this once obnoxious sect those *civil* rights to which every honest and every loyal Christian subject, whatever his religious opinions may be, is equally entitled: let it place a Papist, fulfilling the conditions already stated, upon the same footing,

in *civil* and *military* matters, with a member of the established church : let it, in short, put a finishing hand to that noble monument of wisdom and beneficence, the union of Ireland with England, by granting a full and complete toleration to those, without whose co-operation this monument could never have been erected. This point once settled, Ireland will be at rest ; there will be no longer any lawless tumults, any “complaining in her streets.” I do not say that Papists will immediately turn Protestants, because the impressions of early precepts and example are not soon effaced ; but a conversion of no unimportant kind will most certainly and instantaneously take place : a discontented and rebellious rabble will be converted into a loyal, a satisfied, an affectionate, and a grateful people,—a conversion which will perfectly content every wise politician, and indeed every man who has judgment enough to feel the truth of this just and liberal observation—

Concordia est unio voluntatum, non opinionum.

If the mode of reasoning pursued in this letter be weak and inconclusive, I have to regret that so good a cause hath not fallen into abler hands ; but I feel a pride and satisfaction in knowing that I write at least from the purest motives, uninfluenced by any of those interests and passions

which usually tinge the sentiments of men in discussing the subjects now under consideration. I have no wish to gratify any sect or party—I court no popularity—I covet no praise, nor indeed am I entitled to any; almost every thing I have said being much more clearly and forcibly expressed by Locke and Hoadley, to whose writings I should be content to refer my readers, if the public were not too indolent to go through voluminous works, and did not sometimes like a new book better than a good one. The arguments of these enlightened men, in favour of religious liberty, I always revered: they appeared to me in early life, as they do now, far more manly, more liberal, and more convincing than those of their opponents; and they certainly derive great additional weight from the peculiar circumstances of the times in which we live, and from the increased mildness and moderation respecting difference of opinion in religion, which are now universally prevalent. Till the beginning of the last century the doctrine of toleration was so little understood, that such a man as Primate Ussher, with all his good sense and learning, could talk of “bearing testimony against the ungodly concession to Popery meditated by the State,” when it was in contemplation to mitigate some of those penal statutes which were a disgrace to our

code of laws. Those days (thank Heaven!) are over;—a more liberal spirit is gone forth over most parts of Europe, and has reached America. All who pay “tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, and honour to whom honour,” are now in many countries admitted to an indiscriminate enjoyment of all *civil* rights. In America this is remarkably the case: no religious test is required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. In France (I speak of France before the late revolution) no disabilities or restrictions on account of religious opinions were in force: the same plan is adopted in many parts of Germany. A free country like this should not be the last to follow such examples; a country where there is not a single man of education who would venture to assert that it is justifiable in any point of view to persecute any individual for conscientiously and quietly adhering to that form of religious worship which he believes to be most agreeable to his Creator, and most likely to secure his favour: and yet unquestionably every restraint, every disability imposed upon such an individual on account of his confession of faith only, beyond what the safety of the State absolutely demands, is a degree of persecution. All this is allowed; indeed it cannot be denied by any

one who is capable of reasoning : and yet there are notwithstanding men, and those, too, wise and virtuous men, who admit the abstract truth of the argument here adduced, but object to the application of it in the present instance ; and contend that the claim of a full and complete toleration, insisted upon by the Irish Catholics, is inconsistent in the first place with the coronation oath ; and, secondly, that if this were not the case, it would be highly inexpedient and even dangerous to listen to it, because, if granted, it must be accompanied with the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts,—acts which, according to their ideas, are the bulwarks of the Church and civil constitution. Objections proceeding from so respectable a quarter are entitled to every possible attention, and they are in themselves weighty objections : let us then examine them with the deference due to such authority, but at the same time without a blind submission of our own understanding.

Then the words of the coronation oath as somewhat altered at the revolution, as they stand in Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries, are given.

Then the pamphlet goes on :—

A man of plain understanding, free from prejudice, looking only for the obvious meaning of

terms, not hunting for a meaning suited to pre-conceived ideas of his own, would, as it appears to me, be very much puzzled to find in this form of words a single expression, which by fair construction imposes an obligation upon his Majesty to check the known benevolence of his disposition, and to oppose the wishes of so many of his loyal and affectionate subjects, by withholding an indulgence which they earnestly desire, and which they cannot but consider as their due. It can never be said that a full and complete toleration of conscientious and innoxious Christians is contrary to the "profession of the Gospel," or inconsistent with those generous and noble principles, by which the "reformed protestant religion" was established in this realm: with respect to the privileges of the *bishops* and *clergy*, I know of no privileges belonging to either, that would in the smallest degree be infringed by granting their just *civil* rights to all good *civil* subjects; and indeed I should be very seriously concerned, if I could think for a moment that the privileges of the order, to which I am proud of belonging, were incompatible with the reasonable civil claims of so numerous and so respectable a body of men, consisting of sincere fellow-Christians and of loyal fellow-subjects. If any thing did not serve for an argument, even to men of sense and bene-

volence, when predetermined in favour of a particular system, the coronation oath could never, I think, have been brought forward on the present occasion, because he who affirms that it would be a breach of this oath to grant emancipation to the Irish Catholics, affirms at the same time that the oath was broken by the repeal of the Test Act in Ireland in 1779; that it was broken in 1782, when many penalties, and disabilities, and restrictions were taken off from those very persons, who now only solicit a further indulgence of the same kind: he affirms that it was broken in 1717, when the occasional conformity and schism acts were repealed, and more clearly so when the Toleration Act passed in 1688,—the very period when this oath was new-modelled with great care and exactness. And to go a little further back, by the same argument it might be proved, that the most glorious event recorded in our history, I mean the reformation, was carried into effect in direct opposition to the terms of the *old* coronation oath, which are certainly full as strong as those now prescribed by our laws:—"Ces est le serment que le roy jurre a son coronement; que il gardera et maintenera les droites et les franchises des *seynt Eglise* grauntez ancienment," &c. &c.

We do not find however in Burnet's 'History

of the Reformation,' that it was ever said that the *abolition* of popery was incompatible with the observance of this oath ; and the *toleration* of Papists now appears far less liable to such an objection. To say the truth, it was reserved for our days to discover that a king of England cannot follow the human bent of his inclination, and grant a just indulgence to a numerous and loyal sect, by consenting, as the various exigencies of the times may require, to the repeal of obnoxious statutes, which are in their nature alterable according to the circumstances of things, and are by no means *fundamental* parts of the constitution, without involving himself in the guilt of perjury.

With respect to the repeal of the Test and Corporation acts, so much hath been written, both for and against the measure, by men of the first-rate abilities, living, as well as dead, that it would require something little short of inspiration, to bring forward a single argument on either side of the question which hath not already been made use of. Bishop Sherlock, with his usual energy and animation, points out the inexpediency and danger of taking away these supposed bulwarks of the constitution : his more impartial, more dispassionate, more comprehensive opponent, Hoadley, proves, with a force and perspicuity of reasoning which are irresistible, that these sta-

tutes are by no means necessary for the security of the Church, that they are injurious to the common rights of subjects, contrary to the general principles of civil and religious liberty; and, in particular, that a sacramental oath cannot fail of ensnaring the consciences of men, and is therefore upon that account, as well as upon most others, highly exceptionable. I have no wish to discuss at large a question which has been so fully and so ably agitated; it will be sufficient to recall to the recollection of my readers, that the Corporation act was passed soon after the restoration, and that the principal object of it was to obviate the ills which had lately and were then likely to arise from the heat and violence of non-conformists of various descriptions. It will not be thought very wonderful by any one acquainted with human nature, if the Church of England, irritated by the many indignities and by the extreme severities which she had lately experienced from these sectaries, did not discover upon such an occasion and at such a period all that lenity and moderation, which, generally speaking, are her marked characteristics: it would indeed have been surprising if she had. Towards the end of the reign of Charles II. the prospect of a popish successor to the throne, of an arbitrary and bigoted disposition, excited very just

apprehensions of danger in the breast of every friend to the reformed religion, and to the free constitution of his country : these apprehensions produced the *Test act*,—an act which the exigency of the times rendered necessary, and therefore fully justifiable, because the safety of the State, and of the established church, which is an integral part of the State, are paramount to every other consideration. It will not however from hence follow that the *continuance* of these acts is, in *our days*, either necessary or expedient : the pressure of peculiar circumstances may, in any government, call for temporary measures of a severe and even of an oppressive nature, which a wise and honest statesman neither approves of in the abstract, nor will persevere in longer than the circumstances which occasioned them require. The real point at issue *now* is, whether the repeal of these acts *at this time* would be detrimental either to the Church or to the civil constitution. If it would not very clearly be so, they ought to be repealed, because to deprive so many loyal subjects, without an adequate cause, of *common civil rights*, is no trifling matter. I confess that I am one of those weak churchmen, whom the dissenters have won over to their cause so far as to think that the established religion is sufficiently secured by various other laws and regulations,

and still more so by the cordial attachment of its members ; that as it existed before these statutes were enacted, so it will exist, and as well too, when they are no more : and that, moreover, the venerable fabric of our constitution, which is so universally and so justly admired, will remain full as strong, and form a far more harmonious and perfect whole, when these buttresses, which are no longer necessary to its support, shall be removed. I confess myself also weak enough, in common with many wiser men, to have from religious considerations only very serious objections to a sacramental test, notwithstanding all that Bishop Sherlock hath advanced in its defence ; nor, in a political point of view, can I be brought to perceive the expediency (at a time when union is so loudly called for) of running the smallest risk of estranging the affections of a large body of men from the known attachment to the *civil* government of the country, by exposing them any longer to disabilities and restrictions on account of their *religious* opinions merely,—a body of men whose public conduct for more than a century past hath amply entitled them to an exemption from all *civil* incapacities, and whose behaviour and conversation in private life, as well as the general mildness and temper of their written declarations, evince their claim not only to our per-

sonal regard, but to an entire confidence in their political opinions. Those who start at an encomium so little qualified as this, will do well to recollect, that before they can prove it unmerited, they must argue either from the former conduct of the party in question, or from a few wild publications of one or two heated fanatics of later days : they must say to the Protestant dissenters of these times, ‘Gentlemen, whatever you may assert to the contrary, it is perfectly clear that the political creed of Mr. Thomas Paine is your political creed ; and that the religious catechism of Mr. Robinson is your religious catechism : you once oppressed the Church of England, and would do so now if you were in power, and therefore we will oppress you.’ They must, in opposition not only to experience and common sense, but to every idea of Christian charity and candour, attribute to a Doddridge, a Kippis, and a Lardner, the opinions of Dr. Leighton and the persecuting preachers of the *interregnum* ; they must contend for the reasonableness and the justice of visiting the crimes of the forefathers upon descendants who resemble them in hardly a single feature of their characters :—a mode of reasoning this, which is hardly less absurd than the sentiments and the conduct of the “ Egyptian government, which not “ long since (as we are told) thought proper to

“display its justice, by retaliating on the miserable Jews the pillage which their ancestors, it was said, committed in the days of Moses.”

Notwithstanding this statement, it cannot be denied that there are men of great piety and learning, of very amiable dispositions, and without a spark of malevolence or narrow bigotry about them, who believe that the repeal of the Corporation and Test acts would soon be followed by the downfall of the national church: with such men, who are chiefly of my own profession, it is painful to disagree. I can very sincerely address them in the language of that upright, intelligent man, and excellent divine, Dr. Jortin: “If I dissent from you, it is not without great reluctance—it is not pleasant to dissent from sensible and worthy men, living or dead; nor would any one willingly do it,—still less, for the sake of singularity or contradiction. To opinion commonly received, when I cannot assent, I am inclined to say—‘Invitus regina tuo de litore cessi.’”

But it must be remembered, that the topic now discussing is a *political* not a *religious* topic, and that men of recluse habits, however wise and good, are not always, indeed very rarely, competent judges of such subjects: to understand

properly questions of this kind, both in themselves and in their consequences, abilities of a very different sort, from what such men usually possess, are indispensably requisite. The comprehensive mind and practical talents of real statesmen are here wanted : fortunately for us we have some such statesmen, and in their hands the best interests of the commonwealth and the real safety of the established church may be securely lodged : any man, however, of good sense and reflection may venture to assert, that could it be shown that the ruin of the national church would be even the probable consequence of repealing these two acts, all controversy upon the subject ought to cease ; because, if it be admitted, as it universally is, that an establishment of the Christian religion in some form or other, with a regular ministry properly ordained, and receiving a fixed maintenance, is not only necessary for the purpose of explaining, enforcing, and keeping alive in the hearts of men the great truths of revelation, but that it is moreover the only true method of preserving steadily the quiet, peace, and order of the State,—it must also be admitted, that our own ecclesiastical establishment is so much *assimilated*, and, as it were, *identified* with the civil government of the country, that the destruction of the former would produce, and at no very distant

period, the ruin of the latter. The security of the national church was therefore very justly a principal object of the revolution in 1688; but this security once obtained, persecution in any shape or in any degree for “diversity of opinions, however ridiculous or absurd they may be, is contrary (says Sir William Blackstone) to every principle of sound policy and civil freedom.” How far the continuance of the Test and Corporation acts was necessary at the period just mentioned, or consistent with the principles of that noble event, I presume not to determine; but whatever might *then* have been the case, or even many years after, the established church hath nothing now to fear, either from the power, the temper, or the opinions of the Protestant Dissenters of the present day. The diminution of their numbers, the great alteration which hath taken place in their sentiments and conduct, most clearly prove the truth of this assertion. They have, with very few exceptions, laid aside in all their writings that passionate invective—that rude, offensive, acrimonious manner of speaking of our ecclesiastical establishment, which formerly distinguished them. The far greater part of them assure us, that they wish well to the peace and prosperity of the national church; and for a variety of reasons, which it is needless to state, I give them full credit for the truth and sincerity of this declaration. They ask

not to be admitted to church communion with us, and still less to have any share of our church preferments, which are the just rewards of the established clergy for their ministerial labours: these are not the objects which modern Nonconformists have in view.

Repeal all *disabling* statutes, remove all *civil* incapacities; lay aside all irritating distinctions, all narrow partiality, arising merely from difference of judgment in religious concerns: let the *laity* among the Protestant Dissenters enjoy *civil offices* of trust and emolument upon the same terms with their neighbours of the established church, and they will be perfectly satisfied. Nor will a compliance with their wishes on this head expose either Church or State to danger or inconvenience; so far from it, it will give additional stability to each, by uniting more strongly in the indissoluble bond of peace, of affection and gratitude, men of all religious denominations in the united kingdom.

Let us judge of other men by ourselves: do jealousy, suspicion, and distance attach us more firmly than confidence and conciliation? But if we are resolved to distrust our own feelings, if we turn a deaf ear to unimpassioned reason, if blinded by prejudice and passion we even refuse to look at what is passing before our eyes,—let us at least receive instruction from past facts. Let

us examine attentively and without prepossession the records of English history during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King Charles I., and we shall be convinced, that the origin and progress of those religious animosities which finally involved in one common ruin both the king and the constitution, were full as much owing to a want of mildness, a want of charity and forbearance in those who possessed power, as to the turbulent and angry passions of Nonconformists : let us then learn wisdom from the follies of those who have gone before us, and moderation from their mistaken zeal : let the melancholy and disgraceful events of those sad times teach us this important lesson :—"That our constitution was not made for great, general, and proscriptive exclusions ; sooner or later it will destroy them, or they will destroy the constitution." The observation is Mr. Burke's, than whom there never lived a more enlightened or a more cordial friend to the constitution of his country both in Church and State.

I am, my Lord,

With great truth,

Your obliged and devoted servant,

THE AUTHOR.

Durham, February the 12th, 1804.

POSTSCRIPT.

I have not thought it necessary in the former part of this letter to name particularly the Catholics who reside in this country, because every argument made use of in behalf of the Irish Catholics is applicable with at least equal force to persons of the same persuasion who live in England: nor have I in the latter part of this letter paid any attention to the vaunted argument which is drawn from that strong clause in the act of union with Scotland; because this argument seems to consider the Corporation and Test acts as *fundamental* parts of the constitution, though they are in their very nature “alterable according to the various exigencies of times and occasions” of sound policy, and of civil or religious liberty.

The following Speech was delivered by Dr. Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich, in reply to Dr. Randolph, Bishop of London, who had made some bitter and pointed allusions to the conduct of the Bishop of Norwich as to the Catholic question, which are here replied to.

If the learned prelate had been content to deliver his own sentiments, without pronouncing judgment in so harsh and unqualified a manner against those who think differently from him, I should very gladly have remained silent; especially as the expediency, the policy, and the justice of acceding to the claims of Catholics, upon prudent and equitable conditions for the security of the constitution in Church and State, have been already repeatedly discussed in this house, and have also been, as it appears to me, unanswerably *proved* by noble Lords far better qualified than I am to do justice to so important a subject. With respect to the particular *nature* of those conditions, I presume not to offer any opinion; it is a matter of subsequent arrangement, and will of course be settled when the business comes before a committee; and a com-

mittee will, I trust, very soon be appointed to take into serious consideration the claims both of the Irish and English Catholics. The case of the latter indeed, as just laid before your Lordships in a very able and eloquent manner, is so clear, that I had hoped there would not have been a single dissentient voice; but unfortunately there is, and that voice, too, one which upon other occasions I should listen to with the greatest deference; but as my learned friend appeals to me, I feel myself called upon to say a few words in reply, and I am sure that he expects this from me. Before I do this, I must beg leave to express my surprise at the lofty air of superiority assumed by another learned prelate in alluding to me, and in giving me his advice,—a superiority his claim to which it is not for me to decide upon; but most certainly I should feel far less disposed to call this claim in question, if it were advanced with that humility and meekness, which the learned prelate will allow me to advise him to recollect are the best ornaments of our common profession. Not content with advising me, the learned prelate condescends to instruct me in the meaning of the term *penal*, and in the true principles of toleration, or rather in those principles which he conceives to be such: as yet however I have heard nothing from any quarter which

induces me in the smallest degree to give up my own ideas of toleration,—ideas which, whether true or false, are at least the result of long, laborious, and, I may fairly add, unprejudiced inquiry. I do not however mean to weary your Lordships' attention either by a vague declaration or a tedious disquisition on so trite a subject as that of toleration, and shall therefore briefly observe, once for all, that no toleration in my view of the subject can be considered as *complete* and worthy of a country like this, which excludes every denomination of Christians from civil and military situations, merely on account of their speculative opinions in religion, while such opinions interfere not with the civil or moral obligations of individuals, and affect not in any degree their characters or their conduct either as men or as subjects. “Nec meus hic sermo est:” if it were, my Lords, I should insist upon it with far less confidence; but the principle for which I contend is laid down with his usual perspicuity and energy by one of the most enlightened philosophers, the most eminent divine, and one of the best men of the age in which we live—I mean the late Archdeacon Paley. With respect to the accurate, grammatical, or legal meaning of the term *penal*, your Lordships will not, I trust, accuse me of arrogance, when I say that I cannot stoop to

enter into a meagre and miserable controversy with any one upon so unimportant, so trifling a point; because it appears to me a mere mockery, a downright quibble, an insult to the common sense and feeling of a man, to tell him that it is no *penalty* to be debarred from mere objects of a fair and honourable ambition, to which men of ardent minds and great talents naturally aspire in *every* state, and to which in every free state they have, I conceive, a right to aspire,—I mean, if they give to the government under which they live, an adequate security for their conduct as subjects.

Having said thus much, I must request leave of your Lordships to take this opportunity of adverting for a few minutes, and it shall only be for a few, to two or three points, which, though in some respects of a personal nature, are notwithstanding intimately connected with the subject now under consideration. It has been publicly objected to me, that without being acquainted with the subject at present before your Lordships, I have ventured to differ not only from those with whom I have the honour of sitting upon the same bench, but also from the two universities and the great body of the established clergy. For my ignorance I shall offer no apology, nor in truth, if the charge be true, can any apology be made,

because the far greater part of my life has been a life of leisure: I shall therefore only say, that I do not feel conscious of having neglected any of those pursuits which are connected with the profession to which I belong. That I differ in opinion from those with whom I have the honour of sitting on the same bench is undoubtedly true, and it is equally true that I do so with sincere regret: no affectation of singularity, no love of opposition can induce any man of common sense to differ willingly from wise and good men who belong to the same profession with him, and for the far greater part of whom he has a sincere love and esteem. There is neither pleasure nor profit attached to such a line of conduct,—an honest conviction can alone account for it. Some consolation however I derive, when I recollect that if I differ from men, I agree with many of those eminent writers to whom they as well as myself are in the habit of looking up with respect and almost with adoration, and whose authority I should be happy to shelter myself under, if your Lordships will pardon the apparent pedantry into which I may be led by so doing. I lay, my Lords, no claim whatever to *originality*; not an argument have I ever urged either in writing or in speaking, hardly an expression have I made use of, which is not to be met with in the writings of Hoadley

and of Locke; in the ‘Liberty of Prophesying,’ by Jeremy Taylor; in the *Ιρηνικον* of Stillingfleet; and in almost every page of that great man, Hugo Grotius, particularly in his ‘*Votum pro Pace Ecclesiasticâ* ;’ and in a more striking manner perhaps, than anywhere, in a correspondence which passed between a very pious and a very learned prelate of the Church of England and the ecclesiastical historian Dupin: the eminent prelate to whom I allude is Archbishop Wake, who in his last letter to his celebrated correspondent, speaking of the religious tenets of the Catholics, has the following strong expressions, which with your Lordship’s permission I will give you in his own words:—“*In dogmatibus,*” says this excellent divine, “*prout a te candidè proponuntur, non admodum dissentimus, in regimine ecclesiastico minùs; in fundamentalibus, sive doctrinam sive disciplinam spectes, vix omninò.*”

This is perhaps going a great way; but be that as it may, your Lordships will, I am persuaded, agree with me in thinking that the candour, the moderation, the conciliatory disposition evinced by this very eminent prelate, are not only far different from these acrimonious invectives, of which we now hear a great deal too much from *both sides*; but that they are also far better calcu-

lated, if not to make proselytes, at least to promote mutual forbearance, mutual love, and mutual esteem, which are on all hands allowed to be objects of primary importance, as they most unquestionably are graces peculiarly Christian. Still however it may be said, and perhaps fairly said, that whatever was the opinion of Archbishop Wake or of any other divine a hundred years ago, at this time the two universities and the present clergy of the established church are decidedly hostile to the petitions on your Lordships' table. That there are many very respectable members of our two universities, and many also equally respectable individuals among the parochial clergy who come under this description, is certainly true; but it is not less true that there are also very many *exceptions* to the truth of this assertion. Be the assertion however admitted, and admitted in its fullest extent; yet if it be brought forward as an argument against the just claims of the Catholics, it appears to me by no means entitled to the stress that has been laid upon it, considering the nature of the question, and how very little qualified (generally speaking) men of studious recluse habits are, to form a right judgment of great, complicate, and comprehensive political topics;—I say political topics, my Lords, because the question now before your Lordships

is not a point of *theology*, not a difficult passage in either of the learned languages, but a great question of state—a question therefore not to be decided by theorists in their studies, however pious, or learned, or well-intentioned; but by *enlightened practical* statesmen, such as many are whom I see on both sides of this house. That I may not be thought to flatter the living, I appeal to the dead; and will venture to say without fear of contradiction, that the judgment of three such men as Mr. Burke, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox, carries far more weight with it upon a question of this kind, than the judgment of the two universities, or indeed of all the divines who ever sat in convocation under the dome of St. Paul's, or in the Jerusalem Chamber, from the reformation to the present hour. I am not sensible that I have said any thing unreasonable, and am therefore rather surprised at the interruption I met with from some who are near me. There is no man breathing who loves and respects his clerical brethren more than I do; nor is there a single bishop on the bench who has cultivated a more general acquaintance or closer intimacies with men of his own profession: indeed, my whole life has been passed among them, and happily passed—far removed from the selfish scenes of avarice and ambition; but with all my partiality for them, I

never for a moment conceived either myself or them to be statesmen and politicians, nor do I believe that the wiser part of this very valuable body of men will be displeased with me, for denying their claim to a character which does not belong to us—a character with which we cannot possibly have too little to do. Opinions like these I shall perhaps be told,—indeed I *have* been told by a few narrow-minded or over-heated zealots,—that opinions like these evince both in myself and in others of far more consequence, a want of cordial attachment to the established church and to its ministers. Upon this point, therefore, I wish, my Lords, to be peculiarly explicit, and in my situation it is highly incumbent upon me to be so: if by attachment to the established church and to its ministers, be meant a firm and deep-rooted conviction that the Church of England both in faith and worship, in doctrine and in discipline, is the most pure and truly apostolic church in the Christian world, and that its ministers are, with very few exceptions, as well-informed and as irreproachable a body of men as any in the kingdom, there is no one more cordially attached than I am to the established church and to its ministers: but if not satisfied with this declaration, I should be called upon by

any man to declare further, that all those who dissent from us are grossly ignorant or wilfully perverse,—that they are not fit to be trusted either in civil or military situations of consequence, nor even to be believed upon their oaths; if I should be called upon to declare that nearly two-thirds of civilized Europe have adopted a creed which is little better than a tissue of absurdity and idolatry; if I should be called upon to declare that a Pascal and a Fenelon professed their belief in religious tenets, which have *no* foundation *whatever* either in reason or in Scripture; if, in short, I should be called upon to declare, that many persons now living, as learned and as pious Christians, as loyal and as good subjects as the best of those who hear me, have also subscribed to tenets of such a description, and not only so, but have also anxiously endeavoured to impress these tenets upon the minds of their nearest and dearest relatives, as the best guides of life, and the surest consolation in the hour of death;—if I say, I should be called upon to make declarations of this kind as the only way of proving my attachment to the established church and to its ministers, I very frankly own that I disclaim so exclusive, so uncharitable an attachment: I never professed it, I do not feel it; nor, to speak plainly, do I greatly

envy those who do. I beg your Lordships' pardon for having talked so much of myself, and for having presumed to lay before you the leading tenets of a creed which I am now much too old to change ; nor in truth, if I were given to change, do I know where to go for a better,—for one, I mean, better calculated to promote individual happiness, and at the same time that public union of *heart and hand*, if not of *opinion*, which is so loudly called for and is so much wanted ; that real affectionate union, I mean, which is the very bond of peace and perfectness, and a far more unassailable bulwark, than any restrictive statutes, to support and confirm the security, prosperity, and permanency to (I verily believe) the purest ecclesiastical establishment, and the best form of civil government in the universe.

Having read the authors, to which I took the liberty of referring your Lordships, with as much attention as the learned prelate, my memory being I trust as accurate, and I am sure that my own wish to represent my own opinions fairly is as strong as his or as any man's, I therefore do not feel disposed to retract a single syllable that I have advanced, and have only to request the favour of your Lordships, that you will be pleased to give the same credit to my assertions, which you

do to those of the learned prelate, till you have an opportunity, by examining my references, to form your own judgment.

It is certainly of very little consequence to your Lordships, to know why in May 1805 I voted against the Catholics, or why in May 1808 and in May 1810 I voted for them, and propose doing the same this day; yet as the learned prelate seems so anxious that I should reconcile the apparent inconsistency of my conduct, I will endeavour to give him all the satisfaction in my power. My sentiments with respect to the claims of the Catholics have been invariably the same for these last thirty and forty years of my life, as is well known to those who have lived in habits of intimacy with me, and to some who now hear me. In May 1805, when this question was first brought forward in this house by a very distinguished statesman, I had barely taken my seat; and was *credulous*, and, if you please, *weak* enough to be persuaded that it was ill-timed and unreasonable, and would again be very soon proposed with a fairer prospect of success. I am now firmly persuaded, to use the words of an able prelate, (Law, Bishop of Raphoe,) whom I was in hopes of seeing in his place, that no time can be unseasonable for

so great an act of policy and of justice; and I am also firmly persuaded, that if we wait for the adoption of this measure, till it shall be recommended by persons of a certain description, we may wait till the final revolution of all things: I am, therefore, for not losing a single hour more.

THE TRUE SPIRIT OF THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND CONSIDERED,

In a Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Norwich ;

BY THE REV. H. BATHURST, LL.B.

ARCHDEACON OF NORWICH ; RECTOR OF NORTH CREEK, AND OF OBY, IN
THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK ; AND LATE FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE,
OXFORD :

Delivered at his Primary Visitation, in May 1815, and
published at the request of the Clergy.

“ Medio tutissimus ibis.”

REVEREND BRETHREN,

The visitation which I have the honour this day, as an Archdeacon, of holding, had its origin in former times from episcopal journeys throughout the diocese, wherein the Bishop was accustomed to take one or more, as the extent of the diocese required, of his clergy, to assist him in the inspection of the different parishes thereof, with regard to religious offices and the ministers of religion. The spiritual duties and name of Archdeacon, according to Mr. Hooker,* are coëval

* Ecclesiastical Polity, vol. iii. edit. Oxon. p. 149.

with the third century of Christianity; and the rise of the Donatists,* from the contest respecting the Archdeacon Cecilianus, affords positive proof of the existence of this ecclesiastical appointment in the year 311. In this country it may at least bear even date, therefore, with that of the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury at the close of the sixth century, about A.D. 597.†

Beginning thus in ancient time from this con-sociated exercise of authority, grew the jurisdiction of the Archdeacon, as long since acknowledged, both by prescription and statute, to be a branch of episcopal authority, now called ordinary, as being inherent‡ in the situation, and, throughout a certain extent, concurrent with the episcopal; to the definitive exercise of which, however, an appeal lies, by a statute of Henry VIII.,§ to the Bishop of the diocese, or the Archbishop of the province, by themselves or in their Chancellors' courts.

* Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* translated by Dr. Maclaine, vol. i. 8vo. p. 403. Also elsewhere, in the fourth century, part ii. p. 357.

† See Chronological Table, vol. vi. Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.*

‡ Blackstone's *Commentaries*, vol. i. book i. chap. 11. p. 83. 8vo.

§ See Statute Book, 24th Hen. VIII. c. 11.

Among the details which, as the Bishop's prescriptive vicegerent,* it is the office of the Archdeacon particularly to regard, are included not only the professional duties of the parochial clergy, but also their residences, called parsonage-houses, and the chancels of the church in general, whether intrusted to their care or that of others. Under his inspecting power also is the body of the church itself, and the attention of those officers called churchwardens, to the preservation of the same, with all its usual appendages; for which parts of the office of Archdeacon parochial visitations have been long since made by my predecessor† in this archdeaconry, as they are also made in the archdeaconry of Norfolk:‡ and better examples and patterns in the knowledge of official duties than my predecessor or colleague in this county I can scarcely have; neither can I have more encouragement than I receive from the assurance of Mr. Yonge, § (the weight of whose ability and judgment we all know how strongly, from happy experience, to appreciate,) who has

* Burn's Eccles. Law, cap. 'Archdeacon.'

† Rev. Mr. Yonge, now Chancellor of Norwich.

‡ Rev. Mr. Oldershaw is Archdeacon of Norfolk.

§ Mr. Yonge exchanged the archdeaconry of Norwich for the chancellorship of the diocese.

written to me, that, during the thirty-two years of his archidiaconal duties, he does not recollect a single unpleasant circumstance arising from the clergy in the execution of his office. The little experience, too, which I have had of mankind convinces me, that no where so strongly, as among my professional brethren in general, does exist a deep-principled and right-minded sense of what is due to themselves and to others ; and I may add also, to the honour of this county in particular, that no where prevails among their fellows a more liberal spirit and attachment to the constitution, both in Church and State, than that which marks the respectable body of men in this county who in general fill the office of churchwarden.

Brethren of my profession ! this short prelude you will, I trust, not deem impertinent : a knowledge of our situation and duties is the first step towards filling and performing them properly, and therefore may be required as the best pledge which a man in a new situation can give of his future conduct. I am aware, I trust you will see, fully, of the delicacy and seriousness of the trust which I hold, and I pray God, in this and every other responsible department of my life, to guide me with his Holy Spirit to a proper diffidence of myself, and tenderness and respect towards others, and at the same time to inspire me with

that resolution and discreet zeal, without which situations of trust dwindle into insignificance.

The customary nature of remark upon an occasion like the present will operate as an apology with my elder and more experienced brethren, if I proceed to offer a few professional remarks for the consideration of those to whom I am bound particularly now to address myself: and from all I shall more naturally expect that indulgence which shall free me from the imputation of arrogance, if, omitting any special instruction less suited from a younger man to many elder, I endeavour to trace at large the distinguishing features and professional character of the Church of England, and making some minuter comments as I travel on, if I endeavour to give a view of the principles which particularly distinguish our ecclesiastical polity.

The establishment of the Church of England, considered as a system of discipline calculated for the furtherance of the true Christian faith, is partly founded upon very ancient institutions,* purely the result of human policy, and partly derived from a more awful source—the pattern afforded either by Christ himself or his apostles, who succeeded to the mission of Christ after his

* Hooker's Eccles. Pol. b. vi. c. 2.

visible departure from earth: the basis of the establishment, however, is certainly said, and justly, to consist in the practice and pattern of the primitive Christians, derived from the institutions of Christ himself.* A long lapse of time engendered subsequently a number of factitious additaments,—some innocent and useful, others tending to corrupt the purity of the Christian faith, and to engraft ideas upon it, prejudicial also to the interests of society, and which appeared to those who separated from the ancient communion in very great numbers, not to be warranted by the doctrines of the Gospel, or the recommendations or example of Christ himself or his apostles, which certainly, had they been decisive, would have been justly deemed to overbalance the conveniences of human policy. This spirit of separation and difference, which extended in its progress to Great Britain, produced that reformation of the ancient church, acknowledging the Bishop of Rome for its visible head, which severed us from it by refusing acknowledgment of this supremacy, and therein involved a substitution of the civil government in lieu thereof, and the abolition of a variety of what were considered previous improprieties, abuses, or unnecessary appendages. In

* Eccles. Pol. book vii.

the course, however, of this separation, men, as was not unnatural, disagreed respecting the terms upon which they should afterwards unite; for some union,* some outward form of church government, was found necessary even to establish what each considered to be the true faith. Shades of difference in the complexion of ideas among the reformers themselves, split them into innumerable sects, which, no longer having any common bond, divided and subdivided themselves over the Christian world, much after the manner in which they are at this day seen. Of these, the Papists and the Puritans (as they were termed, somewhat reproachfully on each side) were the furthest asunder in agreement; the Papists being those who adhered to the old regimen of the Church: the Puritans, who, composed of many, in some degree differing from each other, † (though, unwittingly, they fell into a similar error with their chief adversaries, respecting the independence of church government,) professed, by an entire abandonment of even “the garment spotted with the flesh,” ‡ to be the only real and essential reformers.

* See Warburton's *Alliance*, under the head of ‘Test Law.’

† Mosheim's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. iv. 8vo. p. 400. by Dr. Maclaine.

‡ Hooker's *Eccl. Pol.* b. v.; also b. iii. and iv. *passim*.

Between these two extremes did the Church of England profess to steer, to avoid what she deemed the improprieties, or superstitions, or inconvenient and unnecessary adherences of the Church of Rome, and, at the same time, neither in doctrine to run into opposite errors, nor in discipline to divest religion of all exterior grandeur and authority, like the Puritans, which appeared, at least, to be an equally dangerous extreme with that of the Church of Rome; for, while the Church of Rome favoured foreign jurisdiction, and arbitrary power seemed interwoven with her ecclesiastical institutions, the puritanical sects favoured the idea of the independence of the Church upon the State,* and even of the ministers themselves upon each other; and, instead of garnishing their fabric with splendour and ensigns of dignity, degraded the government of the Church by a democratic equality, which endangered every civil polity wherewith it might come into contact. The genius of Liberty emerged from the womb of darkness: his pulse rioted as yet with too much joy, and his vision was dazzled, at first, with the glorious dawn of yet untempered day.

Not so the Church of England—she did not imagine that all her obligations to our forefathers

* Eccl. Pol. b. ii. iii. and iv. *passim*.

were cancelled, because their children had degenerated ; because we broke through the restraints of childhood when we came to be men, she did not imagine that we had dissolved all obligations or spurned all authority. Our reformers treated not their parent Church so rudely ; they lamented her errors, but deserted not all her footsteps ; amid the ravages of time, they pencilled with a sigh the still remaining lines of faded beauty ; they deplored her dotage, but remembered her primeval reason ; they renounced her frailties, but they adored her virtues ; they put away what in her offerings was objectionable, but they clung affectionately and tenderly to her altars ; they trimmed their tapers afresh, but it was from that lamp which still burnt amid the tombs of their ancestors.

I have dwelt thus long on an historical review of the Reformation, that I might trace thence more minutely the features of that worship of which we are now the succeeding ministers ; and, amid the meteors of the present times, it may not be inapposite if we can catch a glimpse of the star of experience,—that which we, at least, are bound to reverence as the true light of Christianity.

A unity and a precision, then, of just religious principle, together with a strong external effect,

applied with moderation, which ever attends an enlightened judgment, unconflicting with vanity, interest, or undue emotion, seem to be the general objects of the Church establishment to which we belong; and this, if exemplified in the leading expositions of doctrine, and other prominent features of our ecclesiastical polity, will both operate as reason to reconcile others to ourselves; and for ourselves to shape our lives and opinions, and professional conduct, accordingly.

In the administration of the leading rites of Christianity, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, these two rites, we may observe, were particularly authorized by Christ himself: to the former, at the river Jordan, before he took his mission upon him, he submitted himself, and has commanded the same to be observed as the essential key to the kingdom of heaven, and as the seal of the new covenant; the latter Christ ordained and instituted himself, in perpetual remembrance of his meritorious death and passion. Before the Reformation there were several rites considered as sacramental according to the Church of Rome, which, though of pious, or, at least, not unlawful usage, yet are not retained in our Church as of importance and dignity equal to those which we retain as divinely essential mysteries, and as

“being outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace.”

In the administration of these sacraments, thus alone retained as such, of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, while we retain not merely the essentials, we retain also whatsoever of primitive custom belonging to the same, without possible revival of experienced abuse, may be conducive to the advancement and solemnity of effect. Thus, in Baptism we retain the sign of the cross, only expressly adding, that we sign the baptized with the sign of the cross,* in token that hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner against sin, the world, and the devil; and the forehead we sign with this mark, the forehead being the seat of confident expression and determined resolution to accomplish our warfare. Neither do we consider the adoration of the cross, of which the Church, under its former regimen, was accused, as a sufficient reason why this memorial of our faith should be entirely removed. And in the fifth book of the ‘Ecclesiastical Polity,’ Mr. Hooker's defence of this point (to whose immortal source I am proud to owe the turn of my re-

* Eccl. Pol. b. v.

flections) is both reasonable and beautiful, where he reminds the adversaries of this ceremony, that as it has been recommended in the practice of life to figure to ourselves, in our actions, the prototype of some great example, to unite us in a virtuous cause; so surely we may make a similar use of the cross of Christ, when reminded of this sign at our baptism, holding it up to the mind's eye as a standard whereby to square our lives, and a motive to animate our exertions. And again, Mr. Hooker says, in these his own exact words,* "Ceremonies do work much by the commonness of their usage, although in their several particular acts we do not perceive that they do much good;" by which he intimates that general impression which insensibly flows from established custom: and we may add, that the godfathers and godmothers, who promise in the name of the baptized, and the congregation who witness the baptism, are thereby publicly reminded of their baptismal vow, which by others, in like manner, themselves made, "not to be ashamed of the cross of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation."

In like manner, although in the Lord's Supper we attribute the efficacy of the sacrament, not to

* Eccl. Pol. b. v.

the elements themselves, or the “*signa pro rebus*,” but to the attendant Spirit of God, which sanctifies and blesses the ministerial office; yet, adopting what was reasonable in the piety of the parent Church, we are enjoined to treat, as it were, the elements with reverence, and to see that no part of them, actually consecrated,* be left carelessly even on the altar; but that the whole, so consecrated, be decently consumed before the minister leave the communion-table; and, to give the more effect to the occasion, the altar is appointed to be (not the middle of the church, as with certain other reformers) the place whereat the Lord’s Supper is to be commemorated, with every mark of external respect, and solemn prayer and thanksgiving. And, again, in the baptismal rite, so far is every thing decently impressive retained, that the font of the church is still ordered to be the solemn spot where the baptismal rite is intended to be begun and always to be completed.

It may not be improper here to add, that though in baptism we do not, from the Jewish lustration, like the Roman Catholic Church, borrow the practice of consecrating water solemnly, either for baptismal rites or other occasions, (as we

* See Rubric.

do bread and wine at the sacrament of the communion, in imitation of the last supper, as described specially in the New Testament,) there being no precedent here afforded in Scripture, and much superstition having, among the lower orders of people in the old church, arisen from the consecration of water; and though we simply implore, that it may be sanctified to the mystical washing away of sin,* yet we declare, that regeneration is the special effect of baptism; that the new birth, of water and the Spirit, is to be dated from thence, for the aid of which, through life, we are taught to implore the assistance of divine grace, that we may abound ever more and more, and increase in godliness; and by no means does our Church encourage the distinction of water as separated from the Spirit, or encourage the idea of regeneration as distinct from the covenant of baptism, and from the general lot of Christians, and as the result of some sudden and perceptible conversion beyond the comfortable renewing of grace by faith and repentance on the heart; and, in the language of the 'Church Remembrancer,'† they who maintain the contrary opinion must appear "to rob the sacrament of

* See the baptismal service in the Book of Common Prayer.

† Vol. i.

baptism of its inward and spiritual grace." Confirmation, we may further remark, which is retained from the Romish Church, is dismissed from the order of sacraments, (as may be seen from the Rubric, quoted to this purpose at the Hampton Court Conference,*) but is preserved as a pious and salutary mean of reminding those who arrive at years of discretion of the vow made at our baptism.†

The above instances may suffice as to the temper of our *Liturgy*, to which we first appeal upon this occasion.

If we proceed to the *Articles* of our Church, and consider them as connected with the above remarks, we shall find in the doctrine of predestination and grace, wherein the features of our Church may be sought for, as being one of the chief tenets upheld by the first Reformers, in opposition to the Church of Rome, that the authors seem to have drawn up their expressions with a

* In the Church Remembrancer, vol. i.

† It may be noted here, that so tender is our Church of enforcing any thing at all immaterial, that the Preface to the second book of the Homilies permits, and even admonishes, the Clergy, to omit any Lessons from the Old Testament which may occur for the day, and be less suitable to the occasion, and read other chapters from the Bible more applicable.

very studied **caution**, endeavouring to avoid the extreme both of the Church of Rome and of that which is attributed by many to flow from the doctrine of Calvin. He, like the schoolmen before him,* borrowed, from some expressions of St. Austin, notions of Scripture, which, ill reconciling the omnipotence with the verity and goodness of God, would seem to impress on men that the calling and election of Christ is entirely independent of any thing virtuous or good here, inspiring a confident assurance, intimately congenial to an enthusiastic spirit, that, let men abate ever so their endeavours “to work out their salvation with fear and trembling, they may certainly be saved if among the elect of God.”

On the other hand, the Church of Rome was understood to attribute unto works “a power of satisfying God for sin; yea, a virtue to merit both grace here and in heaven glory:”†—the which, though not a direct denial of faith, is yet calculated to overthrow the foundation thereof. The Church of Rome is said “to deify good works.”‡

* See Ridley's Bampton Lectures, A.D. 1748. edit. Oxon.

† Hooker, in a sermon bound up with ‘Ecclesiastical Polity.’

‡ Hooker.

They who profess to follow the interpretation of Calvin, seem to deny not only an absolute but a relative merit in all which we can do good here.* The Church of England acknowledges that salvation alone cometh of Christ; that his merits alone are the sole claim which we possess to grace and sanctification here, and to immortality in a better state, and a possible means of grace, even without works, where opportunity alone is wanting, as in the case of the penitent thief,† who was crucified together with the Lord of life: but it contends, in the general spirit of the Gospel, that our faith is dead without works,—a false faith;‡ that though our best doings are very imperfect, and need some repentance, yet repentance itself is needless if virtuous endeavour be fruitless; and that as a good tree must bring forth good fruit, so is true Christian faith, where opportunity offereth, inseparable from good works, “distinguishing between the intermediate acts of faith, and that faith which is the ultimate end and perfection of the Gospel.”§

* See Daubeny's *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.

† See Homily on Good Works, Part i.

‡ See the second, third, and fourth Homilies *passim*.

§ See Sherlock's Sermons, Discourse on Faith.

It has, indeed, been asserted by Dr. Mosheim, and his annotator Dr. Maclaine,* that, until towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a Calvinistic interpretation of the Articles prevailed undisturbed, the question having as yet only been upon the subject of external worship and ecclesiastical government. And Mr. Hume has affirmed, that, at the Restoration, the Church, though she retained her former subscription and articles of faith, was found to have totally changed her speculative doctrine:"† and while some insist that the Articles were drawn up in the spirit of St. Austin, and the illustrious reviver of his opinions, Calvin; others assert that this is untrue, or that their spirit is drawn from another source, called 'The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man,'‡ published and much encouraged in this country at the dawn of the Reformation, and not by any means looking the way of Calvin. And we may certainly add, that Bucer and Martyr, who were much consulted on these subjects, were both moderate men, and the former a stanch adherent of the amiable and conciliatory Melancthon, who also was much consulted by Arch-

* Mosheim's Eccl. Hist., by Dr. Maclaine, p. 438. vol. iv. 8vo.

† Hist. of England, Appendix to Elizabeth and James I.

‡ See Ridley's Bampton Lectures, Ox. edit.

bishop Cranmer, in the time of Edward VI.* But in the great mysteries of faith may we not conclusively observe, that the line of Revelation is marked in our Church as the boundary of reason ; that although in articles of doctrine, as distinct from faith, we affirm or deny opinions, and enjoin assent to those who are of our communion, with regard to them, as truths deducible from Scripture, and necessary to the preservation of sound doctrine ; yet, in the great articles of faith, we are content to receive and enjoin them simply as delivered in Holy Writ ? In the character of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in which, and after the manner in which God hath revealed himself, we worship him (and here we stop), we acknowledge the relations in which we stand to him : we do not question how these things may be ; we are thankful for the means of grace, and for the hope of glory ; we accept the terms gratefully which are offered graciously ; we perplex not our minds with deep thoughts how to reconcile God's almighty power and foreknowledge with our free-will ; we feel within ourselves that,

Where freedom is not, there no virtue is : †

we see that God addresses us as reasonable beings

* Church Remembrancer, vol. i. p. 39.

† Crowe's Lewesdon Hill.

and as free agents, and satisfied, both from feeling and from God's general assurances through Christ, that we are responsible to our conscience and our God, for what we do and say, and in great measure even for what we think, we conclude, concerning all men, as our great poet concerning the fallen angels, when he saith,

Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.*

“Religion is supreme reason ;”† and although we may not see all the agreements and harmonies which constitute it, yet we certainly are not to shut our eyes on that account ; we ought to judge from proper evidence, not measuring heavenly things by sensible, but laying the several parts of revelation together, and “comparing spiritual things with spiritual.” Modesty, however, and caution must attend our inquiries of this nature, and, conformably thereunto, we shall find in our *Homilies*‡ a sound exposition of the Christian doc-

* Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

† Ridley's *Bampton Lectures*.

‡ There are certainly three or four *Homilies* which would be inapplicable to the present times, or inconsistent with the style of language now used in the pulpit. It is unnecessary for the author to point out these *Homilies* more particularly : in other *Homilies* also, here and there, are expressions of emphasis with regard to the Church of Rome, as, for instance, in the second part of the Homily for Whitsunday,

trine and duty, drawn from the most unadulterated sources. Waving all discussions beyond our apprehension ; stating the doctrine of faith and good works, repentance and amendment, as applicable

which certainly it would be proper to omit. Whatsoever opinions may be entertained with regard to Roman Catholics now-a-days, the same language can hardly be, in the ideas of any, necessary to be used. A little attention however, and marking, previously to the reading of a Homily, with a pencil, those strong passages, will often be sufficient alone to enable us to go through the remainder with good effect. The author and two or three friends have tried the reading of the Homilies with the happiest result. They read them in the pulpit, with an introductory prayer, and the Lord's Prayer preceding, and a prayer and the blessing after, in like manner as though there were a sermon ; only, at the commencement of the Homilies, introducing a few prefatory observations ; and, on subsequent Sundays, after the Lord's Prayer in the pulpit, stating what Homily, or part of what Homily, is about to be preached. The author cannot conclude this note upon the Homilies without observing, that they are not recommended by him with a view to supersede sermons, but to come in aid of them, and supply them as discretion shall recommend ; and as the first book of the Homilies contains what may be valued as certain comments upon the Liturgy and Articles, which are specially calculated to arrest attention, at the present time they possess obvious grounds of recommendation : and in the second book are discourses of extraordinary value, although some therein may not be applicable to the present times.

to practice, and showing the principles of Christianity, and the practice inseparable from these principles in the conduct of a Christian man; not denying, nor positively affirming, whether God, in his inscrutable will, hath foredoomed a part or the whole of mankind to benefit finally by Christ's atonement, but commending us to a reliance on God's general promises in the Gospel: such appears to me to be the line taken in the Homilies, as also in the Articles and Liturgy of our Church; and, impressed with this conviction, I beg to recommend, as it is my duty in my present situation, the Homilies to your attention, Reverend Brethren; and that they be provided in every church by the churchwardens, and be read, as recommended by our Church, frequently to the people. "They are plain discourses," says the present Bishop of London,* "and calculated to show the purity of the Gospel." I need hardly add, that we are at liberty to use our judgment in the selection of them, and that judgment, in this matter, is very requisite; but that we should observe, at the same time, that, if we would preach according to the spirit of our Church seen in them, it would be unfair to preach any single part of them without reading the remainder of the same

* Charge to his Clergy.

Homily on a following Sunday, or some other early opportunity. And if we would appreciate the judgment of our Church justly upon the great subjects above alluded to, and instil that cautious application of them into our hearers, which is evidently intended, (and which by Archbishop Cranmer himself is recommended, toward the conclusion of 'The Necessary Erudition of a Christian Man,' to which work he is said to have greatly contributed,*) this intimation is absolutely necessary, in the first part of the book of Homilies, to be regarded.

As, in her doctrines, the Church of England thus anxiously steers the middle way, where truth resteth; so also in her external observances, where divine law affords more latitude, is the same golden mean her object and end: alike remote from superstition or enthusiasm, her ritual of worship is "simple, decent, and significative, as such a ritual ought to be."† The grandeur and multiplicity of outward adoration and ceremony in the Church of Rome (whatsoever devout and apposite effect they might have upon enlightened souls, yet) tended to give improper conceptions, bordering upon idolatry, mistaking

* Church Remembrancer, vol. i. p. 32 et seq.

† Warburton's Alliance, b. i.

the creature for the Creator, to the less enlightened part of mankind. Others, however, were in the opposite extreme: the very surplice, and kneeling at the altar of God,* it seems, gave offence to the more furious reformers; and, because ornamental appendages to religion had been abused, every vestige of former practice was therefore to be effaced: because masses were objectionable, they were therefore to be superseded by voluntary effusions of the Spirit; and, by long preaching, the heart was to be moved toward God, rather than by formal supplication to entreat him. The Church of England, however, rejecting every thing in exterior appendage, or form, or ceremony, which could with reasonable probability tend to superstition, did not recommend every secret corner and private house as a place suitable to the public worship of God; † did not think, because, in the infancy of the Christian era, the Apostles were poor, and did not find wherewith to build magnificent temples, therefore, that in the manhood of the same, blessed by the bounty of Heaven, we were to withhold our richest tribute, any more than David thought that,

* Eccl. Pol.; see also Hampton Court Conference.

† Eccl. Pol. b. v.

because, in the desert, the Israelites had been without an altar suitable to God, they should therefore continue without one when settled in the promised Canaan. Even so our Church did not throw down the organ from the choir, rend the decent surplice from the back of the minister, prefer indigested effusions to a devout formulary, or bereave the communion-table of solemnity in appearance, beauty of design, or reasonable representation in painting and sculpture.* She was willing still that all the works of nature should, in various combination, do homage to their great Author. Neither, in worship itself, do we consider the voice of the preacher, and the devout and lengthened prayers of appointed service, at all incompatible, but both are admitted as a duty to God and an incentive to devotion; and in all things, in short, where the positive laws of revelation are silent, consider that a devout discretion, consistent with the spirit of those laws which are known, may be exercised.†

The Roman Catholic Church veiled all her system in the obscurity of a dead language, and

* The author had in view New College and All Souls' altars, at Oxford.

† Mosheim's Eccl. Hist. and Hooker's Eccl. Pol. *passim*.

demanding assent without inquiry, and conviction without knowledge ; and the intemperate conduct of Leo X.,* and the proceedings of the Council of Trent, gave still stronger colour to these accusations.† Others, afterwards, though abundantly zealous for their own particular creeds, yet rejecting liturgies and any regular digest of prayer, seemed to appeal entirely to the common understandings of men. Moderation here also is the great directress of our design, and the commandress of our discipline : we are liberal, but avoid even the possibility of indifference. Though our Church has opened a full and free inquiry, and professes to encourage and challenge investigation, men are not left without guides strongly recommended : though not our tyrant, she is still our sovereign ; her behests are to be obeyed, and her counsels treated with reverence. To those whose consciences are bound to other forms, she is not imperious or despotic ; but to those whose minds are not absolutely pre-engaged, she speaks in the voice of authority. Our ideas must settle somewhere ; they cannot flit in a yielding chaos for ever. “When will you halt and fight?” a

* See Mosheim's Eccl. Hist.

† The Council of Trent forbade the dispersion of the Bible among the people at large.

Scythian captain was once asked ; and may we not answer like him, “ You shall see when we come to the sepulchres of our fathers ! ”

Congenial thus to the doctrinal and ritual parts of our ecclesiastical polity is also the *external regimen*, and every year almost affording fresh proof of a liberal and conciliating spirit. Instead of the ancient exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, we are content with moderate preferences in our favour from the civil power, and to be defended by no exclusive laws beyond those which circumstances actually require. We trust most to moral influences, and, beginning with public schools and our great universities, we prepare men for our service, and educate the upper ranks of society in a manner corresponding with a liberal discipline ; and carrying the same through every part of the kingdom, the plan is, that every parish therein should be benefited by the residence of a minister of the church establishment ; and over the several ministers so dispersed, presides the episcopal power, not independent, as in the Church of Rome, of the civil power, but liable in all things to the superintendence thereof.* Episcopacy was not abolished, because it had been allied to abuses, nor this venerable monument

* See Blackstone's Commentaries.

of seventeen ages set aside, because it had been impaired by ambition, but it was preserved in dignity and importance.

The progress, indeed, of men to reason and good sense was, as usual, slow and gradual; for the law of the Six Articles was coëval with the dawn of the Reformation, and the Court of High Commission succeeded the thunder of the Vatican. Interdict and anathema,* however, have long

* The ecclesiastical laws are now "*leges sub graviore lege;*" and Christian society in this country has considered, like Mr. Hooker, the Church as a line which, though the base of a triangle, is yet an inherent part of the triangle, and only the base by accidental property. The learned author of the '*Alliance*' considers it more advisable to suppose Church and State as two abstract personages, forming a free mutual alliance for mutual advantage. Those who adopt Mr. Hooker's idea will consider a Christian society as one single agent, which has a right, in subjects of that law, which is mutable in its nature, to adapt matters which divine decrees have not absolutely fixed, to existing circumstances; a doctrine more intelligible and more congenial to experience than that of the learned author of the '*Alliance*,' who, however, in the third book of that work, calls the simile here alluded to of that "best good man" (as Mr. Hooker is by his Lordship finely called) into question. The author of these pages hopes he will not be considered as introducing irrelevant matter, if he makes the following remarks further on the subject of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. By a statute of the 25th Henry VIII. "the canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals

since died away, and fiery zeal has long since ceased to rage; the mitre and the choir remain, while the hierarchy is moderated, without being

provincial, being already made, not contrariant or repugnant to the laws, statutes, and customs of these realms," were to remain in force as before, till a commission of review, appointed by the Sovereign, should make a new digest. This, however, though the statute has been repeatedly revived, has never yet taken place; and the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts remained much the same as at the dawn of the Reformation with respect to its objects, as defined by the statute of "*Circumspectè agatis*," in the reign of Edward I. and also with respect to its process and force, until the act of the 53rd George III. c. 127. which takes away, in cases of churchwardens, church-rates, &c. the necessity of excommunication, by substituting a writ "*de contumace capiendo*," instead of the old writ "*de excommunicato capiendo*," leaving, however, the powers of ecclesiastical courts in matters of proper jurisdiction to the exercises of immemorial and uncontested usage and authority, only in all cases taking away the civil disabilities which before attended excommunication, and substituting a fixed term of imprisonment, not to be exceeded by way of punishment for offenders against whom a "*Significavit*" has been issued. This act is well worthy the attention of the clergy and churchwardens, as it affords means, by summary process, of enforcing the payment of church-rates under £10, as also tithes under £10, besides costs. One magistrate may summon, and two magistrates may decide, as by an old law in case of tithes under 40s. There is a very similar statute with regard to Ireland. See Statutes at large, 54th George III. c. 68.

extinguished; the torrent is converted into a fruitful stream, its sources are not dried up; the pilgrim goes no more barefoot to holy ground, life itself is our pilgrimage, and the ecstasies of early years are mellowed, even by fancy itself, into the glow of sober satisfaction and softer piety.

If, now, we view the minister of our Church either in the discharge of his spiritual functions or in her expectations of his general character, we shall see this moderate medium every where preserved. In the church of a parish the priest is the "*Persona Ecclesiæ*," the representative of Christ's visible Church in his own limited circle, not subject to minute regulations, but left with a large though weighty discretion, and with a dignity worthy of a spiritual pastor. He is not vested, as in former days, with power of remitting offences, and giving absolution in that very indiscriminate manner of which the Church of Rome was accused; neither yet is he degraded into a self-elected and self-called teacher, only distinguished in the actual offices of religion from the rest of mankind; nor does he accept his commission from an equal in society, or from common authority; but from a high and dignified Church minister, from a delegate and assign of Christ,*

* See Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.*

he is to receive the Holy Ghost, and the right to preach the Gospel ; and from thence he derives power still to pronounce conditional absolution, as a successor of the Apostles in the primitive Church, which, in an attitude of authority and constancy, he declares before the congregation ; and in the service of the Visitation of the Sick, his power seems still more specific and interesting.

Yet neither is it supposed contrary to nature and experience, that he, being, like his fellow-men, human, should be, in respect to his personal qualities, faultless ; men expect too much, as from certain situations they are apt to expect, if they expect this. “The most of good men,” says Plato, “have some evil, and the most of evil men some good in them.” Yes ! it is with us as with others. * “The fire which the Holy Ghost hath kindled may gradually burn down, and, if we take no care to renew it, will quite expire ; and though, like a fading lamp, it will indeed break out in one strong effort at the last, and raise our bodies from the grave, yet it may then quite desert the soul for ever.” We are taught,

* This passage marked “ ” is taken from Ridley’s Bampton Lectures. The author need not say that it is worthy of quotation.

however, that the foulness of a minister's hand, if it be foul, cannot sully the glorious purity of that which he ministereth—that if he be evil, “he is still like a torch,—a light to others, a waste only to himself.” *

Superstition hath willed that fallible man should in the Church be infallible, and that mankind in general should believe implicitly, without inquiry and understanding, whatsoever her ministers should dictate; and Enthusiasm hath put out the ancient lights in the temple of the Lord, deeming herself to be all light. But, in conformity to the mixed infirmity of our common nature, and the human means of reasonable influence since miracles have ceased, and the dignity of our office derived ultimately from Christ himself, does our Church model her expectations of our character and conduct; and those reformers whom we follow, and the patterns which they have left us, may show how zeal may be united with discretion. Relaxed morals can never suit a teacher of the Gospel, and austerity makes virtue itself suspected and unamiable. As knowledge of the divine will, too, was no longer to be shut up within the pale of the Clergy, and as the doors of

* Eccles. Pol.

free inquiry were thrown open to all, so neither does the Church of England prohibit her ministers from mixing with a decent reserve in the world ; for, since men are led now by reason rather than authority, it becomes absolutely necessary that this reason should be made familiar and insinuating, not an idol to worship at a distance, but a living pattern and companion. The most beautifully drawn character of Shakspeare is that of Brutus, where his great adversary saith of him when dead,

— The elements

Were so mix'd in him, that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world, This was a man !

And here we see a picture, which, if applied to Christianity itself, is well worth copying. Nature itself seems to have fixed the temperature most favourable to human genius and happiness between the extremes of heat and cold ; and true religion, which is ever a copy of those perfections which are derived from God, and which, through nature, flow from him, seems to have fixed truth and virtue in the like fine latitudes ; not indeed as though there were any singular spot, any one invisible and nice point wherein our moral perfection, so far as attainable here, lies, but in a

sufficiently broad though comparatively confined space. There is room enough for many characters, expressive of as many beauties as there are colours in the rainbow of heaven, equally capable of union, and melting into one form of heavenly hue and design; and these different shades (even as different colours please different visions) seem formed to recommend religion in all her different complexions, all beautiful, though not all exactly the same; all ranging under a general description, though not exactly similar. The features of the Christian graces may be reflected upon by the various temperaments of the soul; they may receive a colouring from warmth, or a colder hue from the languor of natural disposition; but they are all Christian graces still in the purview of that charity which is the bond and seal of all their excellences.

Such, brethren, are the impressions which I have of the spirit of the Church establishment. To say that every feature of this great outline and plan is entirely perfect, and correctly completed, or even that the reformers themselves finished the execution of their design in all its parts, would be to affirm what we know not to be true, and to claim a degree of perfection which can hardly belong to any institution in which human workmanship bears a part. The defects

which may exist, it is unnecessary for me to point out; and when Hooker * himself, acknowledging them, was at a loss to suggest the apposite remedies, I shall not pretend to more than he pretended; suffice it to say, that they are not remediless; and we may add with pride, that the energy seen throughout the nation among the Clergy † in various directions (whatever difference

* Eccl. Pol. b. v. versus finem.

† The author has omitted in the Address any particular notice of "catechising children," or of parish schools, because he conceives them to be essentially united. Without a school, at least upon a Sunday, catechising is difficult, and attended with little effect; and the question of the principle upon which schools should be directed, is a subject of some controversy; and upon any subject of controversy the author was unwilling to touch where it could be avoided; and it is so obvious that a clergyman, residing, according to the general intention of the establishment, in his parish, must feel it his duty to see that religious instruction, in competent measure, be afforded to the lower orders of people, that the author felt no necessity of particularly adverting to the topic. He however cannot, in this note, avoid saying, that the canons, when simply enjoining religious instruction and catechising children, to the ministers of a parish, have till lately been far too inefficient, through the want of a regular school in every parish, to enable the minister to carry the injunction into effect; and if, instead of a sweeping repeal of the clauses of the acts of Charles II. relating to schoolmasters, and the facilities, by that repeal afforded, of edu-

of opinion may exist as to the particular application of that energy) is a strong proof of the vitality of our principles being sound.

Let us go on in this good track ; and in our course, if haply we be for a moment dispirited, let us recall to our minds the difficulties with which our fathers struggled to perfect, so far as they have perfected, this good work ; and let us hold up to the world those excellences which they have bequeathed to us as a memorial of

cation being conducted upon principles differing from those of the Church establishment, the objects of those clauses had been forwarded, by encouragement held out to the furtherance of parish schools, on the principles of the Church establishment, and the Mortmain Acts been relaxed, in some respects, in favour of these objects, and the national education been thrown into the hands of the establishment, if not exclusively, at least with decided preferences, in every class of society, that certain civil restrictions might have assumed a character, with respect to England, at least, of trivial importance, even in the eyes of those who now most oppose or fear their repeal ; what is best to do, or withhold, under actually existing circumstances, is the subject of a large chapter : but may it not be said, that schools in Ireland, upon a broad and general plan, are most likely to be of service ? and, on the other hand, that the possession of national education, conducted upon the principles and practice of the established church, in the hands of the Clergy of England, is of far more consequence than any artificial securities ?

them ; that manly moderation, which, proceeding neither rashly nor timidly, steered, in a turbulent ocean, amid the rocks of unyielding bigotry and wild fanaticism, and anchored the vessel safe at last : and if, amid the tremendous revolutions of our times, and the fearful uncertainty of human affairs, against which no human wisdom can entirely provide, but which moderated passions and moderated opinions may, by disarming of all violence, disarm of half their calamity—if any thing be yet wanting to kindle or inflame our ardour, let us consider, that it is this same principle and rule, which, as in liberty it avoids the extremes of licentiousness and arbitrary power, so in religion it encourages piety without enthusiasm, devotion without superstition, and liberality without indifference : and we may venture to predict, that, as in the human mind, when the fancy is distempered, all things seem out of their natural and true proportion, and when the judgment is clear and serene, all things appear as they really are ; so, that just notions of religion, and a true estimate of civil liberty, will, by the law of nature and reason, be for ever inseparable.

I will detain you but a few moments longer. My object has been, in the presence of many, my elders and superiors in ability and experience, to state what may be considered pledges on behalf

of myself, rather than admonition or instruction to others. Were I confident enough in such company to admonish or instruct, I should implore all who hear me to consider attentively the spirit of true Christian charity, upon which our Church is founded ; and while it is impossible for those who possess any sentiment, not to see the same thing with different eyes of the mind, upon which the same features continually make a different impression, I should implore them to bear all in recollection the beautiful and harmonious variety thus constituted, which is to intellectual, what light and shade are to the world of external, beauty ; and which may well subsist without any breach of correctest propriety, and which, in lieu of perfection, a thing impossible here, presents a scene infinitely diversified and interesting. I would, then, say, Apply these remarks to religious knowledge and perceptions, and, instead of condemning shades of character because they be darker or lighter than your own, consider them to be *varios diverso sole colores*,—as the different reflections of the same great light of heaven, in a different position with respect to the object. Our very infirmities are allied nearly to our best and greatest qualities ; and you may as well wish to strike the moisture from the rain, and yet to retain its fertilising quality, as you would wish to have

qualities of virtue and worth here, without some tendency to defect or exuberance. Among ourselves are many minds and shades of perception. With a graver and a deeper shade of virtue than others, we are expected, inwardly as well as outwardly, to be invested ; but if there be differences only which are not essential between us, let us consider them all as instrumental to what is good ; and instead of censuring, or reflecting upon one another for different modes of pursuing the same good ends, let us show a pattern of what the world is unhappily, in many great things, much in want—a true spirit of Christian charity, which, instead of setting up the idol of its own particular affections, as the infallible test of what is excellent and true, takes into consideration circumstances, passions, perceptive powers, particular habits, and in all things is desirous to direct us to harmony, to peace, and to patient endurance, rather than to domineer over others, to dictate our own opinions, or to trust presumptuously to our own right-hand and ability.

THOUGHTS ARISING FROM PRESENT AFFAIRS,

In a Sermon, preached on the Thanksgiving-day, January
18th, 1816, in the Cathedral Church of Norwich,

BY THE REV. H. BATHURST, LL.B.

ARCHDEACON OF NORWICH; RECTOR OF NORTH CREAK, AND OF OBY,
IN THE COUNTY OF NORFOLK; AND LATE FELLOW OF NEW COLLEGE,
OXFORD.

Non Pacem, neque Bellum, sed Pacem Bello involutam reformido.

St. Matthew, c. xxvi. v. 52.

*Put up thy sword again into the sheath; all they that take the
sword shall perish by the sword.*

ON all occasions when we address mankind from the pulpit of the Church, as ministers of our holy religion; we address them collectively; but we mean that the application should be individually made, and that from individual virtue should be summed up the amount of social excellency. It is not uncommon, however, in politics, to say, that they are not subjects for the pulpit, nor state-affairs proper topics for discussion there; and it has been finely said and truly, “that the Sabbath,

at least, should afford a day of truce to the dissensions and animosities of mankind." But on an occasion like the present, I do not see how a minister of the Gospel can conscientiously discharge his duty, if he do not, to the best of his understanding, endeavour to apply the rules of Christianity to the actual circumstances, as far as possible, of that state of things which is connected with the occasion of his discourse. Do we mount the pulpit to pander to the passions of the hour, or to contend for the immutable principles of sound wisdom and genuine Christianity? Not uncommon, also, is it to say, that with politics or state affairs the bulk of mankind have no concern—they have no concern with the direct arrangements, and it is impertinent to call the conduct of our superiors rashly into question:—and if any thing said now shall look that way, let it be remembered that it is the future to which I look, not the past; let it be remembered, that the conscientious minister of the Gospel, on subjects like the present, does not dictate; he only presumes to state what he conceives to be the proper application of the doctrines of his Redeemer. Our understandings are so variously formed, that where we agree in principle, we differ widely in detail: and from those whose understandings we most venerate, and those whose hearts we most admire,

it is impossible, if we have any decided complexion of character, any originality of thought, or any feeling, not to differ sometimes on most material applications of general rules.

As indulgence towards expression of individual opinion on a public occasion may be on these grounds sought for ; so also if that opinion should by him be, after maturest examination, deemed aright, it is the duty of a good Christian and citizen in a free state to declare and extend the same on a proper and lawful opportunity ; for if our superiors err in public measures, nine times out of ten it is the people who have erred first. It is from the pulse of the patient the physician infers his treatment : rulers can rarely direct—they more frequently follow, or at least hope to be followed by, the torrent of a nation's soul. They who are responsible at once, and effective, would perhaps not give, and certainly not persist in, counsels of a warlike cast, if the firebrand be not kindled in the bosom of their nation.

The continual struggles in which we have been engaged, from the earliest period of our history, and especially within the last twenty-three years, instead of puffing me up with pride because we have been at length victorious, do, on the other hand, (when I consider alone the price, the enormous price, paid for victory—the miseries and

inconveniences inseparable from any warfare ; when I consider the commands of Christian forbearance and peace, so primarily inculcated in the Gospel,) urge me to go back to some first principles ; and, if I am to ascend the pulpit as a Christian minister, to point out what I conceive to be the rules, at least, whereby we may judge whether our conduct be squared accordingly : if it be—well ; if not, let us see that it be squared more accurately in future.

The text with which I have prefaced my discourse has led me to these reflections, as preparatory to my design of making some remarks, through which we may, at least, point out, that which may with God's blessing ward off any danger remaining, and insure our national peace, so far as human probabilities can make it sure. The fate of France is a memorable instance at the present moment of the truth of the text, and the example to be applied, like other memorable lessons of experience for our good, "*Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum!*" If, therefore, I can show some leading points in which these rules may be applied, and also how intimately connected true international peace is with the advice of the text, the lesson must be useful to direct us at the present, and to guide us for the future. I shall not waste any time in refuting the notion,

which some have, that our Saviour intimates that war and bloodshed can be absolutely extinguished from the world in its present state; or that religion is intended to cancel what an historian has called "the unalienable rights of our nature;" but considering mankind as they actually are, I shall try to show how, from the precepts of the Gospel, the practical conclusions which I draw may tend to lessen the probability and virulence of the return of the disease of war, if regarded by the conquering party, at the conclusion of a catastrophe like the present, when the fortune of war is on our side, and international repose, as now, so much in our hands. The cause of our assembling together upon this occasion would, perhaps, seem to call for and justify some strong and pointed allusions to the subject of public affairs, which have given rise to this day's memorial, by which we are taught in the language of the prayers specially drawn up for this day, to thank God "for having restored to the nations of the world, the blessings of that peace which had been disturbed by a daring and unprincipled rebellion."

To enter, however, into these topics retrospectively, when we are taught to thank God for putting down rebellion, would be quite unnecessary. Rebellion itself is of so tremendous an import—so appalling a sound—so foul a crime,—

as implying violent resistance of lawfully plighted subjects to lawful, regular, nationally derived authority, according to the established order originally acquiesced in by the free will and consent of the nations subject thereunto ; that it is unnecessary to say more than—Remember the terrific justice before your eyes, and fear to transgress !

It will be quite superfluous to enter into any discussion respecting what constituted the rebellion in question, by what rules we are to decide upon the lawfulness of the government rebelled against. Whether success, which gave to Washington the reputation of a patriot, and defeat, which affixed to Wallace and Montrose the name of a traitor, can affect the merits of the case or not, and if at all, how far especially in the eyes of foreign countries ? Whether in a contest for a throne, a right once possessed and acknowledged can be cancelled ?—Whether loyalty, any more than wedded love, can have a second valid vow, and dissolve the obligations to the order of things under which you were nurtured and perhaps born, till death dissolve, or lawful divorce, under ordinary circumstances thereof, has cancelled the first obligation ?—All this is foreign to the purpose, when we return thanks distinctly for having put down rebellion ; for the word *rebellion* crushes argument and defies sophistry. For who would

mention rebellion but with pain and sorrow? Who would enter upon a discussion which might even have a view to refute a doubt which can palliate "a wicked and rebellious people?" Wicked and rebellious, however, as are this people, they are still a powerful nation, though fallen; and it becomes an object of importance, on an occasion like the present, to consider by what principles we can best preserve that peace this day celebrated. The world has had a long riot, and a short lurid repose. It is of the utmost importance to point out such principles as may, if not lead to all the relations of sincere amity, at least, not again endanger our repose; and the more dangerous the principles of the nation with whom we have warred, the more necessary it is to be circumspect in our future relations thereunto.

Under these circumstances, I shall confine myself, then, to some observations, which may, if applicable, tend to preserve this repose, and to swell the dawn of light which just breaks upon the long benighted world.

The professed object of war is justice: even with the most ambitious monarchs, rights of justice are the pretences of hostility. It would certainly follow, even upon human professions, that we should never go beyond justice in our inflictions, if the fortune of victory shall give us a

decisive superiority. Charity, on the other hand, which is the mild and Christian arbitress of justice, softens the rigours which the aspect of offence alone might stimulate; in our dealings with foreign nations too, in general, we are bound to consider offences in a political and international, rather than in a moral point of view,—“Who art thou that judgest another man’s servant?—by his own master he standeth or falleth.” Allegiance is due from a subject of a country, to the prince who rules that country, according to the institutions and government thereof; and this, in the eye of other nations, must be considered generally as a thing *de facto* and not *de jure*, unless they wish to deprive their enemy altogether of the power of choosing the superior whom they are obliged to obey; in which choice, one definition, or, to speak more accurately, one signification, of national liberty, has been observed by the author of ‘The Spirit of Laws’ to consist; or, unless they depart from that part of the principles of the law of nations, laid down by the same author, which enjoins in the spirit of Christianity “that different nations do to one another, in time of war, as little injury as possible, without prejudicing their real interests.”

I do not forget, that the same author affirms truly, “that when one nation sees that a con-

tinuance of peace will enable another to destroy her; and that to attack that nation instantly, is the only way to prevent her own destruction; such a war is derived from strict necessity and justice." Upon this principle, therefore, they who in the national concerns of peace and war act, thinking the principles sincerely applicable, though some may differ as to the idea of necessity, yet history must do justice to the soundness of the motive. To demand fortresses, means of war and hostages, even of the person, perhaps, who is the head of the hostile government, if any thing serious is to be apprehended from the bad spirit of the same, may be consistent, also, with sound policy, and the law of self-defence, by which Christianity would confine the causes of warlike exertions: but, when the objects of your own safety, and all that is connected with your own essential interests, are answered by victory, then would Christianity forbid the prosecution of further measures, and say, "Put back thy sword into the sheath."

Let us consider this principle of national conduct more particularly upon the grounds of Christianity, the constitution of the human mind, and that of general good national policy. For this purpose, let us cast off passion and prejudice; let us divest ourselves even of the feeling and force

arising from names and persons; and let us consider the argument abstractedly, and even the cases by which it is illustrated, as supposititious; and, from general remark, let us afterwards make some more particular references.

It is lawful, then, to disarm a foreign nation, for the sake of your own peace and security, of external means of offence, even to the personal removal and possession, in extraordinary cases, of her chief and sovereign. Christian charity, indeed, as I said before, rather softens the rigours, where there is a power of infliction, than oversteps the boundary of strict justice. Before you lend your hand to the task of destroying God's noblest work here, the human species, be sure that there is no way of redress, no means of escaping imminent destruction, except by war. Put yourself in the situation of him with whom you contend; grant that his conduct has been flagrantly bad, that bitterest experience has appeared too slowly to teach him justice and regard for the rights of others; that it is possible he might only compromise, where he pretended to repent;—yet remember, that thou, even thou, if thou hast sinned, may be touched with sincere though late repentance; that the grace of God is not denied to repentance of the greatest sinner, at the most lingering hour; that we are all taught to repent

and receive remission of our sins. The demon of darkness alone is said to declare, that he cannot repent; and if there be another character who saith so, it is in the language of poetry alone,—and even he says of his hand stained with the foulest murder, “Is there not rain enough in the sweet Heavens to wash it white as snow?” Are not the mild refrigerant drops of grace from God sufficient to cool the hell-fire of the hottest spirit? to soften the fiercest fiend of wickedness on earth? Grant, still, that your adversary be faithless and unrepentant; yet remember, that in the wide sweeping vengeance of war, the innocent are confounded with the guilty; honest manly error, with falsehood, malice, and wilful depravity. Remember still further, that “Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord;” that it is not for man to inflict judgment upon his fellow man, except, by the relations of society, he has a direct right so to do! or from the right which nations and individuals have to their own preservation, it becomes a right to crush a neighbouring nation, which, if not crushed, will crush you.

But if you must punish incorrigible tempers, yet surely if that power be already humbled—if the sinews of her external force have been cracked by the overstrainings of her own ambition—her military force crippled—her captain and prince

gone into captivity, and without an opportunity (except from a fresh and successful struggle) of defence—provoked on our part, all human means of serious annoyance be removed for years to come ; who is the man, upon Christian principles, that would “ break the bruised reed, or quench the smoking flax ? ” Who would add insult to injury, and utterly extinguish the freedom of a nation ?

Christian charity abhors duplicity, moreover, and will never cloak real designs, under false pretences ; or take the measure of actions, from the measure of success ; or depart from professions of limited views upon his general system, upon which an adversary, perhaps, in his conduct relied ; and, relying upon them, omitted an otherwise last and desperate struggle, which he would have made : for this, if your adversary be a bad man, is to retaliate wrong for wrong, and put yourself upon a level with him in deceit and injustice.

Charity would seem to dictate, that the spirit of these first sentiments, and especially if, perhaps, they were contained in professions preliminary to war, was far more unexceptionable ;—Charity, which would not interfere with what concerns the feelings and independence of an adversary, beyond that which is absolutely necessary for our own safety.

When we come to particulars, indeed, on these topics, we may differ as to what is necessary; but, perhaps, we may be led to some fair conclusions on the subject, if we ask, whether truth be not the noblest of virtues, and freedom the most valuable of possessions? Whether, under any form of government, the genius of a nation is likely to be suppressed; and whether, if it can be suppressed, to suppress it be an object worthy of a Christian conqueror? You will, perhaps, say, that this genius is turbulent, ferocious, intractable; but do you think that any form of government can extinguish, or even allay, the animosity of a nation really hostile and exasperated? The spirit of revenge or conquest will always break such trammels, and make the government itself take the direction of the national mind! And do you think that any particular branch of monarchy will be a security against ambition and injustice? Was Louis XIV. less exorbitant in his projects than revolutionary France? And if you think that gratitude is a sure tie, O! I could remind you where a brave nation had restored a monarch to his throne, and their return has been the blackest ingratitude; where they fought, as they vainly deemed, for national freedom; and, instead of succouring the cause of freedom, have riveted the chains of poli-

tical and religious tyranny ! And where a nation will consent, even at the time, to change masters, (as you wish, if you wish to fix a particular person upon them,) although you may justly remove what has been dangerous, what security have you in the desertion of one master, even if a bad one, for attachment to another ? And can you think, that liberty or religion will be better served under a master of your choosing, if the body of the nation have been panders to all which you deem a violation of both ? Or do you think if, in this interference, you restore even legitimate rights, once completely though wrongfully set aside, that the spirit of revenge and retribution of an injured few, just fleshed again, after a long exile, will be a fit mediator between you and those over whom this spirit is placed supreme ? Or do you think, that if a long train of bloody fields and battles, which those, whom you would so serve, have seen and felt, be not sufficient to subdue their reason, that external violence will accomplish the object ? O, no ! *Fæminis*, it is, *plorare*, *l'iris meminisse*. It is that which softer souls among them will lament ; but which the masculine spirit of a country will remember ! *Odia in longum jaciens quæ recondet auctaque promet*.

The law of retaliation is of itself in direct contradiction to many passages of the Gospel, and is

to be sought for in the Mosaic law, rather than in the Christian dispensation. It would, however, I acknowledge, be idle to take detached passages, and to attempt to prove that proud and overbearing nations are not to be put down by force of arms; that in the heat of war no retaliation of injuries and insults is to take place. Severe virtue must connive at, or, at least, the severest virtue cannot hinder, such effects; but deliberate retaliation, retaliation reduced to treaties and parchments—the monarchy separated and set in opposition to the people—the substance entirely detached from its accident—the integral from the relative part, is such a contradiction of reason, such a violation of the feelings of mankind, as is to be deeply deplored. To justify injustice as a set-off against injustice—usurpation against usurpation—force against force—can never be an approved principle upon which a Christian ought to act: to devastate a country—to levy contributions in the heat of war, which have been levied by your adversary in like manner; ay, even to raze cities from the earth, if not defensible on religious principles, may be referred to the ordinary consequences of war. But if not content with depriving a nation of means of probable offence, you break into the sanctuary of their affections and independence, it may be asked,

whether you do not exceed the bounds of moral necessity, and, therefore, certainly of Christian charity? When Israel was led captive into Assyria, it was not by the brook Kishon, or by the river Jordan; but it was by the waters of Babylon they sat down and wept. Their conqueror was, at least, consistent; he did not allow the vanquished the sight of their country, to remind them of their degradation; for they sat down and wept when they remembered thee, O Sion!

To mitigate the fury of conflicting parties, if there be more than one powerful party in such a country, would appear to be the just aim of a victorious peace of any probable endurance, with a distracted nation, rather than to give any one, and especially a far inferior party, the pre-eminence. The ascertaining by an undoubted, unbiassed, and most extensive possible representation, the sentiment of a great people, when a new order of things is to begin, and the defence and aid against foreign interference of such representation impartially made, would be a far nobler effort of a victorious, with respect to a convulsed and defeated, nation, than to encourage any assemblage which, in an imperfect manner, would represent the feelings and interests thereof. From such a representation, possibly, no decided conclusion might be drawn; but the attempt would

be worthy of experiment, under such circumstances; and if any party then gained the ascendancy, the other parties would not then reproach the same, with the dictation of bayonets and foreign force; nor would the successful party feel humiliated by the consideration, that not to their country, but to the assailants of their country, they owed their superiority; and whatever turn affairs might take, a feeling of hostility would not prevail against the victorious nation.

When William the Third landed in England, there were not wanting those who advised him to consider his title to the throne, as the right of conquest: but the feelings of the nation were consulted too much by wiser men; and even with the assistance of all the ability of the times—the apprehensions of Popery—and all the address of which great men were masters—his throne long tottered under him; and he felt so uneasy, that he actually, if not over-persuaded, would have deserted his crown, and left England for ever: and till France arrogantly interfered in behalf of the unfortunate and misled James, and lighted up, by this interference, the feelings of British independence; till then, never did internal quiet make that great monarch's situation tolerably comfortable. The arrogance of France diverted all irritated feeling into a channel of fresh hostility; and

when Louis XIV. departed from the ordinary mode of warfare, international animosities raged with redoubled fury.

We may further remark, that if in the interpretation of any promise, pledge, treaty, or convention, any doubt should arise respecting the construction thereof, it would seem more charitable to lean always to the side of the vanquished. It was only the barbarian Brennus who kicked the beam and said, "The vanquished must submit;" for generosity with Christian motives is the true counterpart and express image of Christian charity. If victory is to be the hour of revenge, and the triumph of one set of men over another for the purpose of retaliation, what end shall there be to human struggles? If, instead of practical peace, we fight for abstract principles, which do not directly concern us, when shall the scene of bloodshed close? Clemency in a victor, such as I would here recommend, is not a violation of justice, but an appeal to justice, from the arbitrary will of power.

The last exercise of conquest is over the internal arrangements and provisions of a conquered country. If you leave them the semblance of independence, and even wish that the order of things which you would fain establish to be permanent, it were better to withdraw from the scene

of action ; and though you may rejoice, that by your means one set of men should succeed rather than another, yet if the great cause of your fears be removed, and the means of external danger completely done away, then leave to their natural course things which do not afford just grounds, upon principles of your national safety, to employ any further the power of the sword, which is forbidden by Christianity to exceed the rights of self-defence. When you break into the sanctuary of national honour, is it not like the conduct of the Romans towards the Carthaginians, who, when desired, after every sacrifice, to raze their city from the ground, and build elsewhere, the very women cut off their long hair for bow-strings to defend their altars, and all prepared for one last though unsuccessful effort? What would have been the consequences to Rome, had that effort proved successful? And yet the Romans did well when they wished to extinguish the strength of the hostile nation, for they spoke out at once, and did not affect to treat them as a powerful nation, and yet govern them at their own homes, like truant slaves, but bade them move their homes, their altars,—the recollection of the past, and the hopes of the future. It was candid and open, at least, if it were not generous.

Besides this, an interference in the dynasty or

government of another nation,—so far, at least, as to persist in dictating who shall, as well as who shall not, reign over the same,—must be a continual source of fresh wars with that nation, and there is a danger lest those who become a party to their dissensions, shall be as often at war, as any factions or daring spirit in that country shall disturb the public repose. It must be an armed truce; those with whom this truce is, will only sigh for the day of vengeance; and with a deeper tincture of malignity drawn from circumstance.

Their ranged powers

Disband, and wandering each his several way,
Pursues, as inclination or sad choice
Lead him, perplex'd, till his great Chief return.

There are who stoop that they may ultimately conquer; who under excessive loyalty disguise their dark intentions. Alas! if insulted pride should rise for vengeance, and at the latest hour succeed, it is dangerous to offend beyond the possibility of reconciliation: injuries may be atoned for and forgiven, but insult, it has been said, admits of no compensation.

To support established authority in general, is a worthy Christian cause, and the death-bed admonition of the father, who foreseeing the troubles of his country which followed his decease. The

admonition, I say, "to stand by the crown, though it hung only on a bush," was worthy of a man who loved the social order under which he was born, as, I trust, we all do : but as it is the principle of a true Christian to obey the powers that be—and to suffer even much abuse of power, rather than violently to resist ; yet, also, is it a Christian principle to do as you would be done by ; not to attempt that by others, which you would deem, under any circumstances, unnecessary and cruel by yourself. And even if you were a slave, and hugged your chain with affection, you would have no right to oblige others of a different feeling to do the same : if they disturbed your repose, you would have a right to deprive them, if you could, of physical means of annoyance ; but not to enslave their affections and their spirit, if they be mistaken in the love of a life freer than yours, any more than you would think they had a right to scourge you into a love of liberty.

And not only so, but I must add, that a manly and just construction of the injunction of Christianity, "obey the powers that be," is alone sufficient to clear up the darkness of the most obscure political hemisphere—or, at least, to afford a polar star whereby we may direct our course :

it will give firmness to that enlightened loyalty, by which a subject in his monarch sees reflected the image of his country, and for his country's sake stands by his earthly sovereign ; it will protect us from the extreme both of liberty and despotism, and teach us to follow the example of our great forefathers, who touched these subjects so tenderly.

For if you respect the maxim of "obey the powers that be," you must not suppose, that it implies unlimited submission to any sudden and violent usurpation of power ; but it certainly does imply, that you should respect any institutions and government which have once been fairly (that is, I should certainly say, without the interposition of foreign force) acquiesced in by a nation for any considerable period ; and does forbid you to make that sort of long retrospect, which, if extended largely, might endanger monarchies, most allowedly legitimate. It does not, indeed, indiscriminately sanction the origin of a government, but gives authority and a right, by which all other rights are extinguished, to the administration thereof, (perhaps, under very peculiar circumstances, when once the sense of a nation be fairly ascertained as favourable,) and certainly when once a nation has interwoven a present dynasty,

and a present order of things, with the institutions of youth, the discipline of manhood, and the habits, manners, opinions, and conduct of the people.

I will admit still, however, notwithstanding this construction, which may thus serve as a general guide ; yet that the exact time after all, when an old government ceases to be obligatory, and a new order of things begins to be binding, is one of the most difficult points in political casuistry. I will not say, that revolution is a right inherent in mankind, under any circumstances, at least, which I would choose to picture to myself ; for, generally speaking, there can be no such thing as a right to overturn an established order of things ; we must throw the shield of necessity, or plead the combination of unusual circumstances, over such events, when they happen. But for a foreign nation to make itself a principal in the internal dissensions of another country, must certainly demand no ordinary combination of circumstances ; and though such a combination may have existed, as to justify the past, yet, thankful to God, as those are, and ought to be, who are brought out safe through so dangerous a trial, the subject of the continuance of such interference ought to be a matter again and again reconsidered, whether it be consistent with the social and relative rights of mankind.

These are a few plain and homely remarks, which must occur to every reflecting man, as the dictates of that mild and upright spirit which marks the Christian hero and the Christian nation. What (which Heaven avert!) if the time should come, when other nations should combine against our maritime power, and be successful, and should pour their ten thousands on the British shore? What, if they should then, in the hour of victory, say, that our institutions, and our principle of government, are incompatible with the peace of the world, and the rights of the rest of mankind? Perish the wretch who would succumb under such a declaration! Who would not heave his last sigh, and pour out his latest spirit, to resist such arbitrary interposition? Take our ships, our riches; crush our foreign empire; crack our sinews; burst our vitals; but leave us our independence! Drive us into the mountains and wildernesses, but leave us that, without which life is bereft of dignity, if not death of hope! for where is hope in death to the slave? Virtue and freedom ever march together. Without freedom, virtue may linger in the heart; but it is a stump, which only vegetates at the roots; it throws out no leaves, no fruit, no fragrancy! Wild, O! wild is the plant of freedom; but it is the nurse of genius—the energy of the soul—the consolation

of insignificance—the pride of wealth—the aspiration of glory !

Consider, next, more particularly, the danger which must result from a deeply-wounded spirit of national honour. Force is but a poor security for any thing upon earth. Affection itself is mutable, but it is the surest safeguard on earth ; and, when its object is torn away, glows with the fiercest ardour : it resembles, then, and bears the impression of, a love stronger than death ; an animated zeal, which mocks danger and defies death : it operates like steam, so much the more powerful from being confined ; it fills the recesses of the heart, and insinuates itself into the secret springs of national action. Do you think that reason, cold reason, actuates mankind, and leads them to their greatest and most dangerous efforts ? Then tell me, do you think that the bones of your ancestors would suffer if they were raked from the grave and insulted ? Do you think that there is any physical charm in that earth, and that part of the heavens, which over-arches the spot called your country ? And yet is there a man so destitute of instinctive piety, as to suffer, without a pang, the ashes of his fathers to be disturbed wantonly or maliciously ? Is there no secret charm in the name of country ? no sense of honour, no vivacious feeling, no instinctive affection in the very

name?—that name, which in a foreign climate preys upon the heart of the Swiss mountaineer, and brings on a disorder incurable but by return. And do you think that the human spirit, any more than an animal which has once tasted the blood of his prey, once having tasted of ambition and glory, though miscalled glory, will sink into quietism, and that an eternal oblivion of natural appetite will mantle the affections? Life itself is sweet, and force sometimes irresistible; but the spirit, like the sea, flows more furiously after a violent ebb; and force furnishes argument for force again.

If you would preserve peace with other nations in general, you must put upon you the armour of true Christian charity; of meekness, of forbearance, patience, and quiet pursuit; and unambitious project, and affectionate demeanor; rather than clothe yourselves in arms and steel. You must show an example, that the peaceful virtues, and not military glory, are the pride of a Christian nation,—*Cedant arma togæ, concedant laurea linguæ*;—let arms give way to the robe of peace, and laurelled victory to the arts which distinguish a peaceful nation. Having taught a memorable lesson to mankind, that victory, however long in its duration, may yet yield to superior prowess; that the power of the sword is as uncertain as it

is odious ; cultivate the arts of peace—leave military honours, fairly won, to be enjoyed ; but show, that the civic crown, as in Rome, so also in other nations, is of worth and glory superior to the laurelled crown of triumph : let the genius of Christianity prevail over the perturbed spirit of war, and give undivided attention to the propagation of true religion and sound learning, and to the bloodless and tearless exertions of beneficence ! Here, here, even amid the tumults of war, have British excellences burst forth ! Here let them centre with all their force and energy ! Here is a field opened to the most boundless ambition, to repair the ravages of war, in the natural, moral, and political world ; to consolidate and restore what may be dissipated and impaired in the best institutions ; to support sinking interests of national importance, and retrench the extravagant expenditure of treasure as well as blood, swelled by war ; and to direct that vigour to useful operations, and those numbers to the employments of peace, which have been inured to the detail of military affairs. True patriotism is in the vale of peace, as conspicuous, and far more of a Christian virtue, than in the ranks of war :

More pleased on Isis' silent banks to roam,
Than bear the spoils of conquer'd Minden home.

Last of all, remember the uncertainty of human affairs, human prosperity, and human combinations ; that which is sweet to-day, is bitter to-morrow ; and what was odious yesterday is delightful to-day. When the author, M. Volney, had traversed the countries of Egypt and Syria, and had penned the account of those illustrious places, where Fame had blown her loudest trump, and where now sorrow, and desolation, and tyranny reign ; there, even there, pausing over the past, and anticipating the future, he sighed and said, “ May it not even yet be so with us ? ” Yes,—

*ἡμερα κλίνει τε κἀναγει πάλιν
“ Ἀπαντα γ’ ἀνθρώπεια,*

says an ancient poet, of a great warrior, whom, with the bravest troops, and a natural genius for war, having been always victorious, Heaven afflicted for his presumption. And the Goddess of Wisdom is by the heathen poet represented as pointing out for an instance, “ how one day elevates human affairs to grandeur, or humbles them with the dust.” Learn, therefore, says the poet, in morality of which a Christian might be proud, never to be high-minded, or boast thyself of thy might, thy beauty, thy riches, or thy valour ; for Heaven loves the sober-minded

and considerate, and detests the insolent and proud :

τοὺς γὰρ σώφρονους

Θεοὶ φιλοῦσι, καὶ στυγοῦσι τοὺς κακοὺς.

Yes, ἴσσεται ἡμαρ—the day will, perhaps, come, when our sun shall set. He who divides the course of day and night ; who measures our days, and years, and our fortunes, best knows when that will be ; may he grant that it shall set only with the evening hour of the world ! But of this I am sure, that if we would prolong our national existence beyond the date of other days ; if we would make the principle of our political existence coeval with the world ; then we must fix our conduct upon, and direct our actions as a nation, not by those rules of political convenience, which a stage-player of the hour would recommend—who makes the expediency of an hour, to counterbalance the permanent principles by which the human mind is regulated—and who considers the maxims of Christianity not even as a makeweight in the scale ; but we must do as we would be done by ; we must adopt principles, which we would, as rational men, admit to be just, under similar circumstances, towards ourselves ; mind our own business ; be moderate in our desires ; check national antipathies ; seek to make pro-

selytes by persuasion, rather than force ; obey the powers that be, but attempt not to dictate the construction thereof to other nations ; and if you will dictate it, see that you apply it accurately. Distinguish between what immediately touches you, and what remotely concerns you ; avoid insult, more even than injury, in our dealings with others, nations as well as individuals ; and, above all, never lose sight of those principles of justice, in our dealings with mankind, which alone, of human rights, are indefeasible ! Set your affections upon things above—things linked with the everlasting laws of justice, and virtue, and humanity ; which forbid you to avenge yourselves, but which direct you to leave vengeance to the Lord God of Hosts ; and which alone can lead to any sincere harmony in this conflicting world, and establish real peace in the minds of men, and write it in their hearts.

A disposition, however, favourable to such sentiments, is not to be found in songs of triumph ! No, rather should events of the magnitude which have passed before our eyes, strike us with solemn awe, which leads to piety, and, through piety, to a peaceful and considerate mind : it is for this reason, that I would point to the cypress, which grows among the laurels ; and ring the knell of death in the insolent ears of victory. If we

would preserve the golden balances even, by which the world is holden together, we must act like Nature, the handmaid of God ; in summer, she gives cool airs to moderate the heat ; in winter, fire to mitigate the cold : or, like the good physician, who recommends abstinence to full and heated blood ; to languor and debility, generous aliment.

The moral force of a nation consists in the rectitude of those principles which distinguish those orders of society, to whom principally, from the line of argument here taken, and the illustration I have here produced, upon the subject of the conduct of a nation, after a victorious peace, I have evidently addressed myself—the upper and middle ranks : and them, if in the abstract positions which I have laid down, there be any truth, I should implore, as subjects, and fellow-citizens, and as Christian men of any nation, not to be borne down with the tide of any particular party ; or, on an occasion so important, entirely to take their opinions upon trust ; but to put every thing to the test of the moral and religious principles of true Christianity ; and thereby (in this country, as especially men may) to form that constitutional and peaceful check, which in the gentlest and yet most effectual manner they are enabled to form, upon the responsible servants of

the Crown, in a government composed of human beings, who, even with the best intentions, as a body, may fatally err. As to those who may not have leisure, or ability, to judge of the application of general principles to public events, I would advise them to look up with reverence to the examples and opinions of those who pass through this world, as though they looked for a better; to those who preach Christ crucified; and to those especially, who, both in their lives and language, afford practical lessons of their hope in their blessed Redeemer;—those who, like him, speak boldly what they think piously; and who, while they render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, render also unto God the things which are God's; who reverence human authorities, as the ordinances of God; but who use every peaceable means, that they shall be conducted by those rules which are prescribed by Heaven for the conduct of them.

Urged by this sacred feeling, while I join fervently in thanks to Him who has guided us in safety through the blood-tracked paths of the last twenty-three years, I have ventured to point out the principles, upon which it alone appears to me possible, that peace, permanent, such as we hope for, can be founded, and such as will, with the blessing of God, meet the final conviction of those

to whom these important matters more directly belong ;—principles, which will not sow in hollow conventions the seeds of future war ; but which will stand the test of experience, without affording, hereafter, an example to justify others in outstepping the line of equity towards ourselves.

And here I must further observe, if these reflections should appear to bear upon the passing scenes of the day, that the face of the world is much changed from that which it bore twenty years ago : then, liberty degenerated into licentiousness, and committed, in her extravagant proceedings, the most violent outrages, not only against social order, humanity, and religion, but also against her own self. But manly moderation, as in religion, so also in politics, is the golden rule of truth and wisdom. Moderation, which would curb, and not extinguish the human spirit ; and would never exceed, in the exercise of power, those rules by which we should consent to be judged, if impartial ourselves. It must, however, be observed, that mankind have had, in all ages, a tendency to fall into extremes : from the abuse of a good thing, and the consequences which have flowed from such abuse, we are too apt to forget that the opposite extreme has also its danger. A combination, if unhappily such should exist, of

armed despotism against the independence and honour of nations, would be, at least, equally dangerous to human society, as a mad spirit of unintelligible liberty. If military tyranny be a bad ally and neighbour in one nation, what must be the feeling, if the power of foreign despots should be leagued to overawe the free spirit of mankind! If such should be the issue, such an order of things may, for aught I know, be the ephemeral interest of despotic monarchs; but it can never be the interest of a free nation to see such a principle established.

One extreme is as dangerous to run into as another: we have shown a lesson to the world, and experience has re-echoed how impolitic, as well as wicked it is, to demolish and not to repair; to extinguish an ancient order of things which might be ameliorated by gentle means: to excite the lower orders against the higher; poverty against property, which is the essence of Jacobinism. And we have seen the danger and wickedness of destroying a monarchy; and the impiety of destroying a priesthood; whose rights, though not divine, yet had the sanction of much experienced good, and the venerable aspect of prescription.

But, on the other hand, not only to support, under extraordinary circumstances, in a particular

instance, a right which you deem legitimate ; but to insist, for years, upon pressing this claim of legitimacy upon a vanquished people ; is to support social order at the expense of that which forms a material constituent thereof—your own peace, and the independence even of the throne which you support. The people concede the right of resistance, and the claims of any new allegiance, when they have once fairly acquiesced in an established form of government ; except in such a case as Britons themselves have known, and for success in which they annually return their thanks to Heaven. But when once a new order of things has actually taken place in another nation, although you may rightfully confine and narrow the political force of that nation, in proportion to the danger to be apprehended from the restless spirit of their government ; and although, in the heat of war, and in the conditions of peace, so far as a view to your future safety is concerned, you may even inflict severe forfeitures ; yet you cannot expect cordial peace with them, if you dictate that to them continually, which you would not suffer them to dictate to you, in the greatest distress. And you sanction a principle, which may only, by an extended application, such as an arbitrary victor will readily make, endanger your own liberties, and extinguish the principles, for

the success of which you annually return thanks to Heaven; if you engage against the wishes and will of another nation, or without consulting the same in the most particular and unbiassed manner, to support a former right to their monarchy, as indefeasible; and decide upon their civil government as if you were their masters and dictators. Peace, in the spirit of peace and of Christian charity, is to be founded in the amalgamation of sentiment, where, though one quality may neutralize another, yet neither shall be extinguished; and even in the strength of the one, the virtue of the other shall not be entirely lost:—or, as the rain mellows the sunshine, and dissipates the heat and insects of the noon-day beam; but blends its coolness with the overheated air, and unites the fragrancv of earth and its productions.

Be thankful for the dangers which you have escaped, but in your prosperity be not high-minded, but fear! And while as you look back upon the frightful scenes of revolutionary frenzy, you remember, as subjects, as Christians, as men, and fear to transgress; do not fall into an opposite extreme, and fancy, because the rights of man have been the watchword of rebellion and all crimes, that therefore there are no rights to which mankind are heirs, and which, if you violate, you tread back all the experience of ages, and make

the blood which your forefathers have poured out like water, to be a sacrifice, not to God, but to Belial.

Surely, brethren, the shades of our forefathers hover around us ; and if we could see their unsubstantial forms, we should behold them in an attitude of supplication, or with their right hand raised up for warning, to sift the principles upon which we in this new crisis act ; and amid the exultations of triumph, to remember, that we are Britons, and that we are men : and, above all, Christianity holds out her sacred volume, and adjures you to apply her rules, without reference to the accidental circumstances of victory or defeat, but according to the dictates of justice and sound policy.

Having thus laid open to you, brethren, the genuine sentiments of my heart, and pressed them with all the energy of which I am master, it remains for me once more to crave the indulgence of my audience, or any part thereof who may possibly think any thing here said irrelevant. In particular parts of opinions any man may err, but if there be error in the general turn of sentiment here espoused, it does appear to me so to resemble truth, that I cannot tear me from it. I have sought for truth amid the passions of the day ; I have halted, paused, doubted, and looked back

again; and have at last decided: let it not be deemed improper, if I have endeavoured, to the best of my comprehension, to swell the number of her votaries. Here, here I stand, proud that I am the son of one whom ye know on all occasions boldly to act, and speak what his manly and affectionate heart, and just conception, dictate. Whatever of justice, generosity, candour, and public spirit may be in my sentiments, they are derived from the general pattern of him, whom, I fear, I have hitherto too feebly followed. Whatever of uncertain relevancy, of improper illustration, or wrong conception be here, even if it be all, it is my own. What his sentiments on these topics may be, I know not; but this I know, that so far from the general idea of forcing sentiments, habits, and manners, down any unwilling soul, he would be sorry, even if filial piety were to form a check upon the free utterance of fair opinions. If there be any thing here unworthy of a judicious and right thinking mind, God knows, it is not that I would varnish over crimes, but that I would plead the cause of human nature. I venerate my sovereign, I respect my superiors, I adhere to the constitution, and I love—affectionately love my country.

Upon the present occasion I have endeavoured to separate principles from names and persons,

and have argued, as far as possible, upon the conduct of ourselves as a nation under certain supposed circumstances, not altogether foreign in relevancy to those in which our country now stands; and I have endeavoured, beginning with the laws of nations, to argue more directly from those principles of Christianity, of human nature, and of general policy, upon which, as hinges, turn themselves the laws of nations.

It is the duty of a minister of the Gospel especially to watch over the tide of public feelings and opinions, and to endeavour to direct them in the tide of religious principle; to warn men when they are in danger of departing; to stand like beacons upon a hill, like light-houses upon a shore, to tell men where they are. Much and deeply are we responsible for the direction of a nation's soul: the right of admonition, of reproof, of warning, we are bound to exercise, and not to remain like a candle under a bushel, or a lamp in a tomb, but to "let our light shine before men."

I am sure that none here would incur the threats of the prophet against those who say unto the seers, "See not; and to the prophets, Prophecy not unto us right things; speak unto us smooth things, prophecy deceits." I am persuaded, brethren, that to use the power

of the sword beyond the right of self-defence, to use violence beyond the law of strict necessity, founded on that right, is highly dangerous, when I consider and resort to the words of my text with which I set out :—“ *Put up thy sword again into the sheath; all they that take the sword shall perish by the sword.*” On this topic, therefore, I have delivered my sentiments: I shall conclude with a prayer from our excellent Liturgy :—

“ O Lord, who hast taught us that all our doings without charity are nothing worth, send thy Holy Ghost, and pour into our hearts that most excellent gift of charity, the very bond of peace and of all virtues, without which whosoever liveth, is counted dead before thee. Grant this for thine only Son Jesus Christ’s sake.”

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PRINTED BY A. J. VALPY,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

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